RERUM BRITANNICARUM MEDII ÆVI SCRIPTORES,

OR

CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

DURING

THE MIDDLE AGES.

THE CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS

OF

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

DURING THE MIDDLE AGES.

PUBLISHED BY THE AUTHORITY OF HER MAJESTY'S TREASURY, UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE MASTER OF THE ROLLS.

On the 26th of January 1857, the Master of the Rolls submitted to the Treasury a proposal for the publication of materials for the History of this Country from the Invasion of the Romans to the reign of Henry VIII.

The Master of the Rolls suggested that these materials should be selected for publication under competent editors without reference to periodical or chronological arrangement, without mutilation or abridgment, preference being given, in the first instance, to such materials as were most scarce and valuable.

He proposed that each chronicle or historical document to be edited should be treated in the same way as if the editor were engaged on an Editio Princeps; and for this purpose the most correct text should be formed from an accurate collation of the best MSS.

To render the work more generally useful, the Master of the Rolls suggested that the editor should give an account of the MSS. employed by him, of their age and their peculiarities; that he should add to the work a brief account of the life and times of the author, and any remarks necessary to explain the chronology; but no other note or comment was to be allowed, except what might be necessary to establish the correctness of the text.

The works to be published in octavo, separately, as they were finished; the whole responsibility of the task resting upon the editors, who were to be chosen by the Master of the Rolls with the sanction of the Treasury.

The Lords of Her Majesty's Treasury, after a careful consideration of the subject, expressed their opinion in a Treasury Minute, dated February 9, 1857, that the plan recommended by the Master of the Rolls "was well calculated for the accomplishment of this important national object, in an effectual and satisfactory manner, within a reasonable time, and provided proper attention be paid to economy, in making the detailed arrangements, without unnecessary expense."

They expressed their approbation of the proposal that each Chronicle and historical document should be edited in such a manner as to represent with all possible correctness the text of each writer, derived from a collation of the best MSS., and that no notes should be added, except such as were illustrative of the various readings. They suggested, however, that the preface to each work should contain, in addition to the particulars proposed by the Master of the Rolls, a biographical account of the author, so far as authentic materials existed for that purpose, and an estimate of his historical credibility and value.

Rolls House,
December 1857.

GIRALDI CAMBRENSIS

OPERA.

EDITED

BY

JAMES F. DIMOCK, M.A.,

RECTOR OF BARNBURGH, YORKSHIRE.

PUBLISHED BY THE AUTHORITY OF THE LORDS COMMISSIONERS OF HER MAJESTY'S TREASURY, UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE MASTER OF THE ROLLS.

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GIRALDI CAMBRENSIS

VITA S. REMIGII,

ET

VITA S. HUGONIS.

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CONTENTS.

PREFACE.

PREFACE.

§ 1. Manuscript of the Lincoln Treatises.

In this seventh and last volume of the works of Giraldus Cambrensis, are contained his two Lincoln treatises, the Life of St. Remigius with its additions, and the Life of St. Hugh of Burgundy; the latter of which appears now for the first time in print.

MS. of the Lincoln Treatises; No. 425, C.C.C. Cambridge.

These treatises are preserved to us in one manuscript only; viz. MS. 425 in the library of Corpus Christi College Cambridge, a small 8vo. volume of vellum. They occupy about the first half of the volume; and are in double columns, in a hand of the early part of the thirteenth century,—written, it would seem, and added to in the margin or otherwise, at different times, but always, it would seem, by the same hand. They have little ornamentation, but the hand is a beautifully clear and legible one, and remarkably free from scribal blunders. An editor, generally, will find himself often at fault, and think himself unhappy, if he has but one manuscript of an old writer before him: but in the case of these Lincoln treatises, I doubt whether any number of manuscripts, however early and good, would have enabled me to give a much more correct text than is here supplied by this one manuscript. Of all the early manuscripts of Giraldus's different works which I have had to study, this C.C.C. 425 seems to me to have the best claim to be looked upon, if not as his own autograph copy, yet as

written and revised and added to under his own eye. At any rate it was, in all likelihood, written before Giraldus's death; it certainly gives us a most correct text; and the text, probably, of Giraldus's last revision.

In the case of the Life of Remigius, however, we have to regret that this manuscript gives us the second edition only, as presented to archbishop Langton in 1213 or 1214, and that we have no copy of the first edition, issued some fifteen years before, during the life-time of St. Hugh.

Infra, p. xiii.

Bound up with these Lincoln treatises, and occupying the latter half of the volume, are letters of Peter of Blois,[1] seventy-eight in number, in a hand of the middle or latter part of the fourteenth century.

§ 2. Life of St. Remigius; its two editions, etc.

The Life of Remigius of this volume.

The first of the treatises of Giraldus in this volume he sometimes calls the "Vita," sometimes the "Legenda" of St. Remigius. In his *De libris a se scriptis,* he calls it "Vita S. Remigii;" and so again, in his *Catalogus brevior librorum suorum.* In the *De Jure,* &c., he calls this Life, and the Life of St. Hugh, "Legendæ de duobus "episcopis Lincolniensibus." In the dedication to archbishop Langton of the two treatises, he calls them "Vitæ." The Life of Remigius is called "Vita S. Remigii," in the preface to the first edition; but "Legenda beati Re-"migii," in the heading of the table of chapters of the second edition as in this volume, which heading, however, was probably in the first edition also.

Vol. i. 416.
Ibid. 421.
Vol. iii. 373.
Infra, 3, &c.
Infra, 8.
Infra, 9.

This a second edition.

For it is quite clear, from internal evidence, that the Life of Remigius of this volume, as given us by the one C. C. C. manuscript,

[1] These are not included in the long list of manuscripts of Peter of Blois's Letters, in Mr. Hardy's catalogue.

is a second edition of this treatise, altered and added to, but perhaps very smally, before Giraldus presented it, in union with the Life of St. Hugh, to archbishop Langton. Thus, for instance, the conclusion of what he tells us about St. Hugh in this treatise was written during Hugh's lifetime, and therefore before the autumn of 1200; for, after extolling Hugh's excellencies, Giraldus places him, next to St. Remigius, as deservedly the most eminent amongst the, as yet, bishops of Lincoln, if the end shall agree with the beginning; and hopes that so laudable a beginning may have a happy end, in a closer and closer access to Christ as the end draws nearer. So again, at the beginning of the *De episcopis Angliæ tergeminis*, which occupies the three last chapters of this Life of Remigius, he says that he has now described in order the prelates of Lincoln, without omitting one. This must have been written before the accession of Hugh's successor, William de Blois, in 1203. In the after preface to archbishop Langton, he speaks of having described all the bishops before Hugh de Wells, except only the last bishop, William de Blois.

The first edition written in Hugh's lifetime.

Infra, 42.

Infra, 43.

Infra, 5.

There can be little doubt, I think, but that the first edition of this treatise was written during Giraldus's three years residence at Lincoln, 1196–1199.[1] But it was not written before 1197, because he speaks of the suit about Eynsham abbey being settled in Hugh's favour, which was done in that year.[2] We may pretty safely conclude that it was written about the year 1198, during Giraldus's quiet studious sojourn at Lincoln, when he would have ready access to the early Lincoln records, from which, no doubt,

And about 1198.

Infra, 40.

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[1] See vol. v., Preface, liii, n. 2.

[2] *Magna Vita S. Hugonis*, 192, n. 1. It is possible, however, though perhaps not probable, that this about Eynsham may have been added in the second edition of the treatise.

this Life of St. Remigius is in large measure little more than a mere transcript.

A marginal addition to the twelfth century catalogue of books in the Lincoln library records the gift by Giraldus, with other works, of his own Irish Topography, his Life of St. Remigius, and his *Gemma Ecclesiastica*. This Life of St. Remigius, in all probability, would be a copy of this first edition written at Lincoln, and would be presented to the library before his departure from Lincoln in the summer of 1199. The *Gemma Ecclesiastica* was also written during his stay at Lincoln. The Irish Topography, in its earliest form appeared some ten years before; but Giraldus was continually improving upon it; and the copy given to the library was very likely a copy of one of his later editions of this treatise, as revised and added to at Lincoln. These treatises of Giraldus must have been lost at Lincoln before the end of the fifteenth century. In a catalogue of the books in the library, written probably somewhere in the latter half of that century, which exists in a volume in the record room of the dean and chapter, there is no mention of them.

Infra, 168, l. 3, &c.

This first edition may have contained some few passages, which were afterwards omitted in the second edition. At all events this is the case with a very short, and sensible, and un-Giraldic preface, which happens to be preserved in the Trin. Coll. Camb. manuscript of the *Symbolum Electorum* of Giraldus, and which I have given at p. 8, *infra*.

The second edition presented to archbishop Langton in 1213 or 14.

The second edition, as given in this volume, was presented to archbishop Langton, certainly not before 1210, and not later than the autumn of 1214. In the dedicatory preface to Langton, Hugh de Wells, who was consecrated Dec. 20, 1209, is now bishop of Lincoln; and moreover, he is the only bishop who has as yet been con-

Infra, 5, and n. 2.

secrated by Langton, whose next consecration of a bishop was not until Oct 5, 1214. It is very unlikely that Giraldus would select archbishop Langton as a patron, before his victorious entry into England in July 1213.[1] Moreover, it appears that the Life of St. Hugh, presented to Langton with this Life of Remigius, was not even fully written until long after the commencement of the Interdict in the spring of 1208; and not until Bishop *Infra*, 135, Hugh de Wells was in a position to reward writers of cap. xiii. St. Hugh's miracles, which can only have been the case after John's delivery of their bishopricks to the exiled bishops June 1, 1213. The Interdict was not removed *Infra*, 136. until June 29, 1214, and seems plainly to have been still in force when Giraldus gave his last polishing touches to these treatises. We may conclude, I think, safely, that his two treatises of this volume, with the general preface to both, were finished, and perhaps moreover presented to Langton, somewhere late in the year 1213, or somewhere in the first six months of 1214.

At the end of his treatise *De Jure*, &c., Giraldus speaks of these two Lincoln treatises as the last of the Vol. iii. *Legendæ Sanctorum* which he had written, and as issued 373. when he was about 70 years old. Supposing that he was born in 1147, or near upon that year, as seems probably to have been the case,[2] this 70 years old is very near to the truth for Giraldus, if he is referring to the presentation of these treatises to Langton. But, as if ashamed of being so near the truth, and determined to be always somehow far wrong in any matter of date, he associates with these *Legendæ* his *Gemma Ecclesiastica*, as also issued when he was about 70 years old, though it is certain that it was issued about the same time as the first edition of the Life of Remigius, not

[1] See vol. vi., Preface, xxxiv. n. 2.

[2] See vol. v., Preface, lvi.; and vi., Preface, xl.

later than the year 1199,[1] when he would be about 50 years old. Giraldus, in any matter of date, is a most inconceivable blunderer.

Probable additions in this second edition.

In the absence of any manuscript of the first edition, it is impossible to say what were the alterations or additions in this second edition, as alone we now have it. But I imagine these must have been of very small amount. *Infra*, 3–7. The preface which now precedes it is a general preface to the two treatises, as presented in one volume to Langton; the actual Life of Remigius begins with the table of chapters at p. 9; and thence down to the end of the treatise, there are only two or three instances of what seem to be additional matter in this second edition. The account which Giraldus gives of Hugh's *Infra*, xl. buildings at Lincoln, in p. 40 and 41 *infra*, can hardly have been written two or three years before his death. But the strongest instance, perhaps, is at p. 80 *infra* (n. 2), where is a short section that must, one would think, have been penned after St. Hugh's death; but this is not at all absolutely certain. Another very probable instance of addition is at p. 75 (n. 1). The large bulk, however, of this second edition of the treatise, it seems to me pretty clear, was but a simple transcript of the first edition.

After marginal or other additions.

There are three additions to the manuscript of this second edition, as originally written; two short ones in the margin, and a longer

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[1] He presented a copy of it to pope Innocent III. in Dec. 1199 (*De Rebus*, &c., vol. i., 119). It may have been written some years before this time.

It is possible that, as in the case of the Life of Remigius, there may have been a second edition of the *Gemma Ecclesiastica*, the date of issue of which would agree, more or less closely, with the seventy years of Giraldus's age. But of such second edition there is no known copy, and no trace of such to be found in all that is to be gathered from Giraldus about his various works.

one on an inserted leaf; all in a very similar hand, if not the same as that of the text. The first, at p. 44 (n. 1), *infra*, is an addition of a few words in the margin to the remark of bishop Henry de Blois, on hearing of the martyrdom of St. Thomas of Canterbury. The second, on the same page (n. 3), is the addition on an inserted leaf, and describes particulars at the consecration of St. Thomas by bishop Henry. The third, at p. 60 (n. 3), is a marginal addition, telling us of the full belief of bishop Bartholomew of Exeter in Henry II.'s direct guilt in the murder of St. Thomas, after he had received the confession of William de Traci, one of the murderers. Whether these additions were made before or after the presentation to Langton in 1213 or 1214, it is impossible to say; but they are, no doubt, Giraldus's own additions. The two first are in his treatise *De Jure*, &c., written soon after the summer of 1215,[1] where Giraldus reproduces much of what he here tells us about bishop Henry de Blois. Vol. iii. 359.

§ 3. Sources of Information; Value of this Life, &c.

In compiling in this treatise the history of the bishops of Lincoln up to his own time, Giraldus, no doubt, was mainly indebted for his materials to the accounts of these bishops as contained in the Martyrology, or some other kindred record or records, which he found at Lincoln. There has come down to us, unhappily in part only and imperfectly, another history of the bishops of Lincoln, compiled by John de Schalby, a canon of Lincoln, some hundred and twenty or thirty years after this treatise of Giraldus was written. This later history, so far as I can, I have given in Appendix E of this volume. John de Schalby *Infra*, 193. &c.

The early Lincoln records.

[1] See vol. vi., Preface, xli. and n. 2.

expressly says — and this must refer especially to the early portion of his history—that the written archives of the church were one main source of his materials. For the bishops, therefore, before St. Hugh, he would have probably just the same early authorities as Giraldus had used. He is plainly quite independent of Giraldus: sometimes one is fuller or briefer, sometimes the other; but there is a close correspondence very often between them, not only in matter, but in words and sentences and whole chapters almost, that seems to prove certainly that in compiling their respective histories of the early bishops, they used the same early records.

Value of this Life of Remigius.

And hence the value of this treatise of Giraldus. We have in it, in some part, something not far from a simple transcript of the history of the bishops up to his own time, as he found it recorded at Lincoln about the year 1198. And it proves, moreover, the value of the history of the after compiler John de Schalby; that his pages are copied, as to the history before his own time, from authentic earlier Lincoln records.

The account of Remigius very untrue.

This, however, is not the case as regards the portion of this treatise of Giraldus, from which it takes its name,—the account of Remigius the first bishop, and the founder of the church. It seems clear that Giraldus says much about him, that had no better authority than his own fancy of what was or ought to have been the case, or a like fancy of some of his Lincoln friends his informers, or, at the best, some vague traditions,—already however, it may be, recorded by the custodians of Remigius's tomb, — which were to be made the most of, in the attempt to raise Remigius to the post of local saint of Lincoln.

As in his canonical election.

For instance, the canonical election to Dorchester by the clergy, as related in the first chapter of the Life, is all a fancy. Remigius, *Infra*, 14.

perhaps, not quite impossibly, may have been elected, in a way, or rather not refused by the clergy of Dorchester; he speaks of his election in his after profession to Lanfranc, but this, no doubt, simply means that he was the elect of William the Conqueror, like the rest of William's bishops.[1] Anyhow, his election by the clergy, if such there was, would be the merest form and farce, no better than the episcopal elections for many long years well known to us. Of Giraldus's canonical election there can have been nothing; he was made bishop of Dorchester by the sole will of the conqueror, his patron.

Infra, 151.

And his consecration by Lanfranc.

Again, the statement of the same chapter, that he was consecrated by archbishop Lanfranc, is certainly untrue. He was consecrated to Dorchester by archbishop Stigand, some two or three years before Lanfranc's accession to Canterbury, and was himself one of the assisting bishops at Lanfranc's consecration.

Infra, 14, and n. 1; and 151.

Of the remainder of this first chapter, the account of Remigius having been in some sort a manager or leader of the abbot of Fescamp's contingent to William's army of invasion is true enough, though probably wrong as to some particulars. His unwilling acceptance of so un-

[1] A mere election by the king, influenced more or less by his advisers, was then the rule in England. Thus, Florence of Worcester tells us that William was "a rege "Willelmo electus," in 1081, to the bishoprick of Durham. Anselm, in his address to the prelates, barons, &c., at Rockingham, reminds them how he had been elected to Canterbury by William II., with the full counsel and assent of such of them as were then present at the court (*Eadmeri, Hist. Nov.*; Selden, p. 26, l. 37, &c.). It is not, however, very usual for the king to be said to elect, in the historians of the time. They more generally say that the king gave to such a person, or invested him with, such a bishoprick. Often, no doubt, as in the case of Anselm, if not generally, the barons and prelates would be consulted: episcopal elections seem to have been generally made at councils where many of them would be present; but the only election by the clergy of the vacant see depended upon some of them being present at the council, and assenting, with the other clergy and laity present, to the king's choice.

monastic an office, his wise and virtuous conduct in the exercise of it, are probably mere embellishments of Giraldus's scholastic pen.

Infra, 15, &c. The second chapter is eminently Giraldus's own. It has nothing in it about Remigius, except the mention, at the beginning, of his profuse charities.

Infra, 17. The instances of his charity, in the first part of the third chapter, may have had, when Giraldus wrote, some ground of history or tradition; but their only authority now is this page of his Life of Remigius. He seems *Infra*, 18, and n. 1. clearly wrong when, in the second part of this chapter, he attributes to Remigius the foundation of the leper-house near Lincoln.

Infra, 18. The fourth chapter, about the transfer from Dorchester to Lincoln, was no doubt derived from the early Lincoln records. The matter and wording so closely correspond *Infra*, 193. with the beginning of John de Schalby's account of Remigius, compiled certainly from the early records, that it seems certain that these also must have been the source of Giraldus's information. Of all that he tells us about Remigius, this chapter, with the part of the next chapter, about the proposed dedication of the church and the death of Remigius, are, perhaps, the only portions of Giraldus's account of him that have any real historical value. I do not say that all else he tells us about the virtue and sanctity of Remigius is only his own invention, but that it all rests, so far as we know, upon no better authority than his own very bad authority. It is perfectly possible, and not improbable, that he may have found traditions at Lincoln, and these, perhaps, committed to writing, upon which was based his account of Remigius's excellencies; but all record of such traditions, if any ever existed, has long since disappeared.

The small amount of this account of Remigius of any historical value.

The wretched state of the diocese, as described in the *Infra*, 20. fifth chapter, and the successful labours of Remigius in reformation, are all perhaps Giraldus's own; or, if not his

own, based upon no better authority than his. What follows about his preparations for the dedication of the church, and its prevention by his death, is so far fully confirmed by good authorities; but they differ as to the exact dates. Wonderful to say, the date of Remigius's death which Giraldus gives us is no doubt the right date: he was an impossible man to have invented that 6 May 1092 was Ascension day in that year, as well as the Feast of St. John *ante Portam Latinam*. This statement, no doubt whatever, he found in the early records. The after compiler from them, John de Schalby, says nothing as to the day of Remigius's death. It was a particular which Giraldus would of course give from the records, when trying to exalt him as the great Lincoln saint; but which John de Schalby might naturally omit in his history, written long after the idea of Remigius being a saint was forgotten, in the possession of better and more recent saints.

Infra, 21, and n. 2.

Infra, 194.

The fact is, it seems to me, that Giraldus, in writing this account of Remigius, had much to manufacture out of very meagre or unworthy materials. There was a want of a local saint at Lincoln; and Giraldus, during his stay at Lincoln in 1196–1199, undertook, or was induced by his friends there to undertake, to apply his scholastic pen towards making a saint of Remigius,—the founder of their cathedral church, a noble-hearted and bountiful prelate, one to be ever held in reverence at Lincoln, but one who, from what is said or left unsaid, in all at all contemporary history, can have had small claim indeed to be made a saint. If we are to believe Eadmer[1]

[1] The words of Eadmer are, "Calumniatus est [Lanfrancus] coram "papa memoratum Thomam, cum "præfato Remigio, quod neuter "illorum jure fuit promotus ad pon-"tificatum; . . . [Remigius] pro "eo quod, facta conventione, illum "a Willielmo, post rege facto, eme-"rit, officio videlicet, quo ei in ex-"cidium Angliæ properanti multi-"faria contentione ac multiplicibus "impensis deservierat. Ad hæc "illi nullam quâ excusari possent "probabilem causam habentes, red-"ditis baculis et annulis cum cura "pontificali, ad petendam miseri-"cordiam conversi sunt." *Historiæ Novorum*, Selden, p. 7.

and his followers, Malmsbury, &c., he made an actual bargain with William, to have an English bishopric in payment of his services, in case of the invasion proving successful. This simoniacal bargain, and his consecration by the excommunicated archbishop Stigand, were brought against him before the pope in 1071, when he accompanied archbishop Lanfranc to Rome: he would have been degraded, but for Lanfranc's intercession. Now these are statements which rest upon good authority: there is no reason to doubt their truth. They may have been, more or less, unknown to Giraldus, and probably were not dwelt upon in the early Lincoln authorities from which he was compiling; but that the Lincoln records did contain some notice of the bargain with William, seems to be clearly intimated by John de Schalby's "ob certam causam" of Remigius's aid to him. But whatever Giraldus may have found in Lincoln or other history, he would record nothing, we may safely conclude, that could tell against the sanctity of Remigius, which he had undertaken with his scholastic pen to establish; and moreover, it is clear that he invented much after his own fancy, or followed traditions as worthless as his own inventions. Hence his silence about the "certa causa" of Remigius's aid to William, and the consequent bishopric; hence the canonical election to Dorchester, and the consecration by Lanfranc instead of Stigand; and hence, probably, all his details as to the charity and sanctity of Remigius. He had to make the most of a very poor case, and it is plain that he was not at all scrupulous in his endeavours to make it a very good one.

Infra, 152, and n. 2.

Infra, 193.

Henry of Huntingdon's silence about the sanctity of Remigius.

That I am not taking an untrue view of the character of Remigius, or of the value of Giraldus's account of him, is pretty conclusively proved by the silence of Henry of Huntingdon as to his virtues and sanctity. Henry became archdeacon of Huntingdon about 1109 when no doubt still a young man. He had been,

in large measure, brought up at Lincoln in the family of Bloet, the successor of Remigius. He never saw Remigius himself, he tells us, but had seen and known all the dignitaries of the church appointed by Remigius, one of whom, Albinus Andegavensis, was his own preceptor.[1] Henry of Huntingdon, in his young days, must have heard much of the excellencies and sanctity of Remigius, if, in the church which Remigius had founded and nobly endowed, and amidst the friends whom he had promoted and most cherished, any such excellencies and sanctity were accepted and talked about; but he is altogether silent on the subject. He tells us, indeed, in his History, of the transfer of the see from Dorchester, and the foundation and establishment of the church at Lincoln, and adds some personal traits of Remigius, and a solitary anecdote;[2] but he has not a word about his sanctity. So again, in his letter *De Contemptu Mundi*, Huntingdon just tells us that Remigius was present at the battle of Hastings, became bishop of Dorchester, and removed the see to Lincoln, where he founded and richly endowed the church;[3] but gives not a hint as to his saintly character or holy deeds. In the latter case, indeed, he says that he was speaking only of what he had himself known and seen; but after telling us what he does about Remigius, and the foundation, &c. of the church,—much of which could not have been told from his own personal knowledge,—it seems almost impossible to conceive that he would not have added somewhat or much more, if Remigius had been at all the saintly bishop

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[1] These particulars about Henry of Huntingdon are given by himself in his Letter *De Contemptu Mundi*, printed in Wharton's *Anglia Sacra*, ii. 694, &c.

[2] "Erat siquidem statura parvus, "sed corde magnus; colore fuscus, "sed operibus venustus. De regia "quidem proditione fuerat impe-"titus; sed famulus ejus, ferri ig-"niti judicio dominum purgans, "regio restituit amori, et maculam "pontificali detersit decori." *Hen. Hunt. Histor.* Lib. vi. (near the end), Savile, 213.

[3] *Anglia Sacra*, ii. 695.

that Giraldus would persuade us. This letter of Huntingdon, it is worth remarking, was written in the latter years of his life, about the year 1147,[1] and after miracles had been wrought, according to Giraldus,[2] at the tomb of Remigius. Huntingdon's silence seems to me clearly to prove, that amongst those who had best known Remigius and were most indebted to him,—and moreover, for many years after his death, up to about the middle of the twelfth century,—Remigius was not looked upon as a saint; and therefore that Giraldus's account of his sanctity, whether his own invention, or whether resting upon what he found believed or recorded at Lincoln in 1198, is simply a worthless fabrication.

Infra, 22–31.

The miracles of Remigius.

Chapters VI.–XX, which relate the miracles of Remigius, are no doubt taken, more or less closely, from what Giraldus found recorded by the custodians of his tomb. For Giraldus was not the first person to think of making a saint of Remigius. Miracles, it was said, had been wrought at his tomb, as early as during the episcopate of bishop Alexander,[3] 1123–1148; and at the time when Giraldus wrote, miracles had been latterly multiplying. In their great need of a saint of their own, the Lincoln people were no doubt eager, for want of a better one, in acceptance of Remigius as a saint; and no doubt for some time there had been regular custodians of his tomb, one of whose duties would be to keep a register of the miracles there wrought. And from this register these chapters of Giraldus would

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[1] It was written not before 1146, as he speaks of William Turbo as now bishop of Norwich; and not after the beginning of 1148, as he speaks of Roger as still bishop of Lichfield, and Alexander as still bishop of Lincoln. *Anglia Sacra*, ii. 700.

[2] See the next note.

[3] A deaf and dumb Jewess, miraculously cured at the tomb of Remigius, is said to have been afterwards baptized by bishop Alexander, and to have been for a long time carried about by him in order to spread far and wide the renown of the saint (*infra*, 24). Giraldus records miracles as early as 1124 (*infra*, 25, 26).

be derived. In all likelihood, this register was not begun to be kept very long before Giraldus wrote, and the early miracles, before about the middle of the twelfth century, were only recorded on the authority of very doubtful tradition.

The source, perhaps, of Giraldus's false account of Remigius.

It is this register, no doubt in being, and still receiving additions, when Giraldus was at Lincoln, which I suppose to have been the most likely source, if any source he had, for his untrue account of the election and consecration of Remigius, and of his virtues and sanctity. But however this may have been, such an authority would not give an atom of historical value to what Giraldus tells us on any one of these points. All that he says on these points, all but wholly if not quite, we can only look upon as simple fiction.

The successors of Remigius.

Chapters XXI.–XXV., which briefly give the history of the five successors of Remigius, before the accession of St. Hugh in 1186, are taken in great measure, if not wholly,[1] from the contemporary Lincoln records. These chapters agree very closely with John de Schalby: sometimes one writer is the fuller, sometimes the other, just as must naturally be the case with compilers, at different times and with different notions of what was most worthy of handing down, from the same originals.

Infra, 31–39.

Infra, 195, &c.

Robert Bloet, 1094–1123.

Robert Bloet, the first successor of Remigius, ought to be regarded at Lincoln with almost as much reverence as Remigius himself. Remigius transferred the see to Lincoln, built the church and founded an establishment of twenty-one canons. Bloet, besides many costly gifts of ornaments to the church completed by Remigius, and purchases of many

Infra, 31, 195.

[1] The latter part of the account of Geoffrey, bishop-elect (*infra*, 37), is perhaps an addition of Giraldus, and the only one to be found in these chapters, upon what he derived from the Lincoln records.

lands and manors for its benefit, moreover provided prebends for twenty-one more canons. He was a most bountiful benefactor, co-founder rather he may well be called, who did not much less for the new see of Lincoln than had been done by the actual founder, his predecessor. The Lincoln records, however, as here preserved to us by Giraldus and John de Schalby, while describing his conspicuous prudence and probity, and his bountiful benefactions, speak unfavourably of him on account of the loss of Ely, and the grant of the mantle to Henry I., the redemption of which afterwards by St. Hugh from Richard I., is so dwelt upon by Hugh's biographers as one of the most excellent acts of his saintly episcopate.[1] As to the creation of the new see of Ely, and the consequent loss to the diocese of Lincoln, they allow that it was done "per regiam voluntatem et violentiam;" Bloet would be unable to prevent it, however strongly he may have striven; and, so far as we know, was quite blameless in the matter. We can now only look upon it as anything but blameworthy, even if he was willing and active in giving up a portion of his enormous diocese to a new see; but medieval Lincoln bodies would regard very differently any such concession, however forced upon him against all his will and all his best resistance. And as to his grant of the mantle to the king, we know nothing of the circumstances connected with it; it may have been a part of some bargain very beneficial to the see of Lincoln, though perhaps at the time not altogether approved of, and certainly afterwards looked upon as a badge of abject servitude. It is plain, however, that at Lincoln these two concessions were soon considered to be very damaging, and disgraceful enough almost to cancel all memory of the good points in Bloet's character, and all gratitude for his bountiful benefactions.

And more unhappily still for his after good fame, Bloet was no friend to monks. The Peterborough con-

[1] See *infra* 41, 108, 199; and *Mag. Vit. S. Hugonis*, 184, &c.

tinuator of the Saxon Chronicle, A^{o}. 1123, tells us that it was mainly owing to his exertions that the successful resistance was made that year to the appointment of a monk to the archbishopric of Canterbury, as always hitherto had been the case; and adds that Bloet never loved the rule of monks, but was ever against them and their rule. William of Malmsbury, the only other at all contemporary monkish writer who gives us anything to the purpose, while admitting some good points in his character and naming some of his benefactions, yet plainly enough displays his monkish feeling of enmity, by insinuation however rather than open assertion, against such an enemy of monks.[1]

This comparatively favourable account of Bloet is in a second edition of Malmsbury's *De Gest. Pont.*; he had before, in 1125, published the first edition, in which he had attacked Bloet most savagely.[2] This abuse he found it necessary to retract. But after monkish writers, Higden for instance and his followers, have drawn their

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[1] After describing the death of Remigius, and the consequent postponement of the dedication of the church, Malmsbury proceeds;—"Tunc ergo rem dilatam successor "ejus non graviter explevit, utpote "qui in labores alterius delicatus "intrasset. Rotbertus Bloet homini "nomen. Vixit in episcopatu an-"nis paulo minus xxx^{ta}: decessit-"que procul a sede apud Wdes-"toche, cum regio lateri cum alio "quodam episcopo adequitaret, "subito fato interceptus. Cetera "satis suis hilaris, et parum gravis; "negotiorum scientia secularium "nulli secundus, ecclesiasticorum "non ita. Ecclesiam cui sedit or-"namentis preciosissimis decoravit. "Defuncti corpus exenteratum, ne "tetris nidoribus vitiaret aerem: "viscera Egnesham, reliqua Lin-"docolinæ sepulta sunt." *De Gest.* "*Pont.*, Hamilton, p. 313.

There can be little if any truth in Malmsbury's sneering "non gra-"viter," &c. about the consecration of the church by Bloet. The provision made for this ceremony by Remigius, would cause small saving indeed of cost and trouble to Bloet, when he at length consecrated the church, at the very least close upon two years afterwards. As for the removal of the bowels after death, it was what was always done, when the body had to be carried any distance for burial. It was done even in the case of St. Hugh. *Magna Vita*, 364.

[2] *De Gest. Pont.*, 313, n. 4, and 314, n. 1.

account of Bloet from Malmsbury's first edition, and accordingly they describe him as a "vir libidinosus," as one whose unholy body could not rest at Lincoln in peace, nocturnal ghosts horrifying the place of his burial, until this was purged by prayers and masses and alms.[1] Still later writers,—bishop Bale for instance, a most unscrupulous liar in very unscrupulously lying days,—improve upon this, and make him a monster of iniquity. And from such worthless authorities, Bloet's character has come down to our latter days. Even at Lincoln, his bad reputation is even yet a shameful tradition; and what was raised to his honour has been made a memorial to his disgrace. The effigy with the horn to its mouth, which caps one of the turrets[2] on the western front, no doubt is the effigy of Bloet,—the horn in such position expressing his name, Blow-it. The effigy in Lincoln tradition is the "Swine-herd of Stow;" the opprobrious name handed down for one of their very greatest benefactors.

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[1] Twysden, 2364 and 988. Why Bloet was charged with being "vir "libidinosus," is difficult to say. Henry of Huntingdon indeed tells us that Bloet had a son, born to him before he became bishop of Lincoln; but, supposing this son to have been born in wedlock, which there is no reason to doubt, not a shadow of disgrace or shame would hence fall upon Bloet. The mere fact, however, of his having had a son was, perhaps, to a spiteful monkish pen, ground enough for its baseless calumny.

This son of bishop Bloet, Simon by name, received, as was but fitting, a princely education; he was a youth of high talents and great promise, but pride was his bane; he was made dean of Lincoln, and for a time was high in favour at the royal court; he was disgraced and imprisoned; he made his escape, and went into exile and misery. *Anglia Sacra*, ii. 697. Henry of Huntingdon classes him, with prince William, the young earl Richard of Chester, and other such, as a striking instance of the often wretched cutting-short of early greatness.

[2] The effigy on the corresponding turret has been generally supposed, in modern days, to represent St. Hugh. But is there any decent authority for this? Does it not seem more likely that it was intended for Remigius,—the two great early benefactors, the actual founder, and his successor worthily considered as with him co-founder, being thus together honoured?

For all such statements, whether of Higden or Bale or others, are simply worthless calumnies; the utmost we can safely gather from them is that Bloet, in these writers' days had a bad character, had no friends, and was to be hit hard. We have contemporary brief mention of him in the Peterborough Saxon Chronicle, and in William of Malmsbury; and longer accounts from the early Lincoln records of the present volume, as preserved by Giraldus and John de Schalby, and more especially in what Henry of Huntingdon has told us of him.[1] Put these contemporary authorities together and fairly weigh them, and we shall give to Robert Bloet a very different position from what later writers assigned to him. He was no doubt too much of a courtier, and had his heart-strings too closely tied to royal favour and earthly pomps, to be a model Christian bishop; but he was a generous, noble-hearted, princely prelate, kind and loving and bountiful to all about him,[2] the patron and advancer of learned and good men. Such men he was careful to keep around him; his household was the school where Henry of Huntingdon was educated, to which Henry I. entrusted a favoured son,[3] and where St. Gilbert of Sempringham passed several years of his early life. Epitaphs are proverbially lying; but an epitaph inserted in a dry truthful old history is a very different thing from one inscribed on a tombstone by partial friends in modern days. There must have been some general good opinion of Bloet, something far more than the writers mere

[1] *Historiarum*, Lib. vii. (Savile, 213 *b*, ll. 42, &c.; and 218 *b*, 46, &c.); and his letter *De Contemptu Mundi* (Wharton, ii. 694, &c.).

[2] "Fuit autem Robertus præsul "mitis et humilis, multos erigens, "nullum deprimens, pater orphan- "orum, deliciæ suorum." Hen. Hunt., in *Anglia Sacra*, ii. 695. This receives no small confirmation from Malmsbury's evidently grudging words of praise, "Satis suis "hilaris, et parum gravis;" *supra*, "p. xxv., n. 1.

[3] Richard, an illegitimate son of Henry I. He perished, with prince William his brother, in the wreck of the White Ship in 1120. *Anglia Sacra*, ii. 696.

flattering estimate of the merits of a departed friend and patron, when Henry of Huntingdon inserted in his History the following epitaph :—

"Pontificum Robertus honor, quem fama superstes
"Perpetuare dabit, non obiturus obit.
"Hic humilis dives (res mira!), potens pius, ultor
"Compatiens, mitis cum pateretur erat.
"Noluit esse suis dominus, studuit pater esse;
"Semper in adversis murus et arma suis.
"In decima Jani mendacis somnia mundi
"Liquit, et evigilans vera perenne videt."

Bloet was chancellor of William II. in September 1090[1]; how long before I cannot say. He does not occur I believe as chancellor, after he became bishop of Lincoln. In William's Lincoln charter, not later than 1095, which settles the archbishop of York's claim to Lindsey, he speaks of Bloet's chancellorship as a past thing,—"quia "cancellarius meus extiterat." In the latter years of his life, as we learn from Henry of Huntingdon,[2] Bloet was justiciar of all England, under Henry I. The account, by his archdeacon and friend, of how the king plundered and disgraced him in the last year of his life, and of how bitterly Bloet took to heart the loss of his sovereign's favour, and the curtailment of the costly grandeur of his household, is very interesting, but very saddening. It is plain that Bloet, with all his good qualities, was to the last, when his life was drawing near to its close, still far too much of a devoted courtier, far too closely tied to the pomps and vanities of earth. This his early experiences in the court had made him; and the love of earth still clung to him, though as a bishop he had been so bountiful a benefactor, and so good a man in many ways. But look at him on the whole, in the light that all at all

Infra, 32, n. 4.

[1] See Dugdale, Lincoln Charters, No. IV.

[2] *Anglia Sacra*, ii., 695.

trustworthy history throws upon him, and we can only say that it is a crying shame, that such a man should have come down to us with the evil fame that has been falsely and foully attached to him,—and this even in Lincoln tradition.

Alexander, 1123–1148.

Giraldus's brief account of bishop Alexander, "The Magnificent" of the court of Rome, agrees closely with the equally brief account of John de Schalby. The contemporary Lincoln account, from which they quote, seems to have recorded what it could of his good deeds, and to have passed with slight mention over what was bad in him. He was more a complete man of the world, and far less it would seem a good bishop than his predecessor Bloet, notwithstanding that his name has come down with little or no obloquy attached to it. "Magnificent," indeed, he was; and not only in the magnitude of the stately grandeur with which he appeared more than once at Rome, and showered his gold into the capacious pouches of the Roman courtiers, but fully also in what he did in his diocese in England. Besides his benefactions to Lincoln, he founded four monasteries—by robbery, however, of Lincoln property, we are told—and built three castles. For such magnificent doings all the then rich revenues of the bishopric of Lincoln, and all his own private means, probably very great, were insufficient: Henry of Huntingdon tells us that Alexander had to exact largely from his subjects, in order to find the means for his profuse expenditure.[1]

Infra, 33, and 197, &c.

Infra, 33, and n. 5 and 6.

[1] "Nutritus in summis deliciis a "Rogero avunculo suo Salesberi-"ensi episcopo, majores inde ani-"mos contraxit quam opportunum "esset suis. Siquidem præterire "volens principes ceteros, largi-"tione munerum et splendore pro-"curationum, cum proprii reditus "ad hoc non sufficere possent, "suis summo studio carpebat unde "egestatem suam nimietate præ-"dicta comparatam complere pos-"set. Nec tamen complere poterat, "qui semper magis magisque dis-"pergebat. Fuit autem vir pru-"dens, et adeo munificus, ut a curia "Romana vocaretur Magnificus." *Histor.* viii. (Savile, 226).

His repairs and vaulting of the church, after a fire.

One of his benefactions to Lincoln, according to the contemporary Lincoln history handed down by Giraldus and John de Schalby, was the restoration of the church after a fire, and giving it a stone vault. It has been supposed that this was done in the early years of his episcopate, after a destructive fire, about 1124, which is mentioned however by no one except our untrustworthy friend Giraldus. There is good evidence, from very far better authorities than Giraldus, that the church suffered no injury at all from fire anywhere about this time. At all events it seems certain, if it suffered at all, that it did not suffer to anything like the extent that Giraldus represents, such as would call for Alexander's repairs and stone vault. But there was a fire, and a well authenticated one, towards the end of Alexander's episcopate. The Spalding, and a Peterborough chronicle[1]—one probably merely following the other, or perhaps both drawing from a common source—place it under the year 1141, two or three years perhaps too early, as with others of their dates about this time. Henry of Huntingdon—the conclusive authority at this time on any Lincoln matter he mentions—assures us certainly, that a fire had occurred shortly before 1146, and that Alexander nobly repaired the damages in the last year or two of his life. He tells us that in 1145 Alexander went to Rome, and returned the next year; when finding that his church had been injured by a fire, he restored it with such subtle workmanship, that it came forth more beautiful than when

Infra, 25, and n. 2.

[1] By the Spalding Chron. I mean the *Chron. Ang. Petriburg.* of Sparke and Giles. There is abundant internal evidence that it was written in Spalding abbey; and it ought to be known by the name I give it. It says, under 1141, "Combusta est "ecclesia Lincolniensis in festo "S. Albani." The Peterborough Chronicle is the *Chron. Petroburg.* of the Camden Society; it simply says, under the same year, "Com-"busta est ecclesia Lincolniæ."

newly built, and second to no structure within the bounds of England.[1] It is, therefore, quite certain, that Alexander restored the church, after a fire, in the last year or two of his episcopate. It is possible that there may have been a previous fire during his episcopate, and consequent restoration by him; but the only evidence for such a fire is Giraldus's worthless talk about the fire of 1124, and there is no evidence whatever for any such earlier works of restoration by bishop Alexander. It is only by modern expositors of Lincoln history, that Giraldus's 1124 fire has been connected with Alexander's restorations; Giraldus describes the first under his very dubious legend of the miracles of bishop Remigius, and the latter, many chapters afterwards, under his authentic history of bishop Alexander, without a hint of the one having anything to do with the other. *Infra*, 25, and 33.

Alexander died in the early spring of 1148, and it may seem that the time since his return from Rome—two good years at the very utmost, perhaps little more than one year—is insufficient for the restorations after the fire, which are attributed to him. But the injury to the actual fabric by this fire was very little, if any at all; Henry of Huntingdon only says that the church was badly disfigured ("deturpata") by it. Moreover, he has not a word about the vaulting of the church by Alexander, as recorded by the Lincoln history. This vault must have been a vault over the body of the church, for the aisles would certainly be vaulted by Remigius. The Lincoln history—contemporary we must

[1] "Decimo anno (regis Stephani), " . . . . episcopus Lincolliensis " Alexander iterum Romam per- " gens, munificentissime se ut prius " habuit. Itaque honorificentissime " susceptus est ab Eugenio papa. " . . . . Rediens autem sequenti " anno, cum summa ipsius papæ " totiusque curiæ gratia, a suis cum " summa reverentia et gaudio sus- " ceptus est. Ecclesiam vero suam, " quæ combustione deturpata fuerat, " subtili artificio sic reformavit, ut " pulchrior quam in ipsa novitate " sui compareret, nec ullius ædificii " structuræ circa fines Angliæ ce- " deret." (Savile, 225 *b*.)

consider it, though we now only have it in the pages of Giraldus and John de Schalby—is an authority that we cannot well doubt. Probably Alexander intended this vault, and prepared for it, and possibly made some small beginning of it, and therefore was not unnaturally spoken of as its builder, though perhaps it was not finished for many years after his death. That it was completed by him, or even largely begun, I cannot believe. A stone vault over the body of a large church was a thing, so far as we know, not attempted in England before 1148; and if Alexander had built, or even largely begun such a novelty, it seems scarcely possible to imagine that Henry of Huntingdon, when recording his restorations, would not have noticed it.

The day of his death.

Huntingdon tells us that bishop Alexander was buried on Ash Wednesday (Feb. 24), 1148;[1] but of the exact day of his death no record hitherto has been known. This day, Feb. 20, is now ascertained, from the twelfth century Lincoln obituary, printed amongst the appendices of the present volume.

Infra, 155, and 34, n. 2.

Robert de Chesney, 1148–1166.

Infra, 34, and 198.

Giraldus's account of bishop Chesney is fuller than that of John de Schalby; agreeing, however, closely with him, so far as the later writer goes. The main historical addition in Giraldus is the loss of episcopal jurisdiction over St. Alban's abbey during Chesney's episcopate. He is perfectly right as to this fact; there is long history about it in the St. Alban's chronicles; and no doubt he found what he tells us in Lincoln history, though the after compiler is silent on the subject.

Infra, 34, n. 4.

These compilers tells us, in large part, all that we are told about bishop Chesney. From Henry of Huntingdon, in one of the last of his pages, we learn that he was archdeacon of Leicester when elected, a "juvenis

[1] "Anno 13 regis Stephani mortuus est Alexander episcopus, et "sepultus apud Lincolliam in capite jejunii." (Savile, 226.)

"omni laude dignus," and that his being made bishop of Lincoln was hailed with glad assent by king and clergy, and people.[1] According to our Lincoln history of him, he did not prove the good bishop that might have been expected from one of so high repute and glad acceptation. But his foundation of the Sempringham house of St. Catherine, close by Lincoln, and his appropriation to it of four churches, and of one prebend, would be a foul blot on him in Lincoln cathedral eyes, that no excellencies as a bishop would wipe away. There are also charges against him of alienating lands of the church, for purposes not mentioned, and of bestowing other lands on his relations; the loss of St. Alban's again, though no doing or fault of his, was another objection against him. It would seem that he was not at all a model bishop in all ways, but perhaps the Lincoln history gives a somewhat worse account of him than he really deserved.

After what Henry of Huntingdon tells us of Chesney and his election to Lincoln, no trustworthy notice of him is to be found in other general history. The years of Chesney's episcopate are years of all others, where English history especially fails us. The latter years of Stephen, and the first years of Henry II., have no contemporary English annalist or historian,[2] and what the

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[1] "Eodem anno (1148), appro-"pinquante Natali, Robertus, cujus "cognomen est de Querceto, archi-"diaconus Leicestrensis, juvenis "omni laude dignus, electus est "in episcopum Lincolniensem. "A cunctis igitur honore tanto "dignus est habitus. Rege, et "clero, et populo cum summo "gaudio annuente, benedictionem "pontificalem ab archiepiscopo "Cantuariensi suscepit; et apud "Lincolliam cum summo tripu-"dio, magnus expectatione, ma-"jor adventu, a clero et populo "cum devotione susceptus est. "Prosperet ei Deus tempora prava, "et juventutem ejus foveat rore "sapientiæ, et exhilaret faciem ejus "jocunditate spirituali." *Ibid.*

[2] Robert de Monte is invaluable for the Norman, &c. events of the reign of Henry II.; but his notices of English affairs are few and brief. These brief notices, however, form no small part of what authentic history we have of English matters in the early years of Henry II.

nearest writers, — Hoveden, Newburgh, Diceto, &c.,— meagrely tell us of the events of this period, is very unsatisfactory, and not seldom plainly untrue.[1] The exact chronology of this period is, of course, especially a difficult and doubtful puzzle; as to be seen in the several contradictory dates, all wrong, given to the day of Chesney's death. The early Lincoln obituary, however, now gives us certainly the right day of the right month, the 27th of December; and it is from no English writer, but from Robert de Monte, that we gather the assurance that it was December 27, 1166.[2]

Infra, 36, n. 2.

Infra, 164.

Geoffrey, Elect; 1173–1182.

Infra, 36, &c., and 198.

After a vacancy of the see of more than six years, at length, in 1173, Geoffrey, an illegitimate son of Henry II. already archdeacon of Lincoln, was elected bishop of Lincoln. He was, however, never actually bishop of Lincoln, as he was never consecrated: His benefactions,[3] I suppose, procured him a place in Lincoln history amongst the bishops.

The first part of Giraldus's account of Geoffrey agrees closely with that of John de Schalby: both were no doubt, taken from the contemporary Lincoln records.

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[1] See Professor Stubb's Preface to vol. i. of Hoveden (p. xl. &c.). He says, "The latter years of Ste-"phen, and the early ones of Henry "II., are more scantily illustrated "by contemporary historians than "any portion of our national his-"tory. It is more difficult to as-"certain the exact chronology of "these years, than that of any "period of equal length since the "ninth century."

[2] See *infra*, 36, n. 2. Robert de Monte says, under 1167, "Ante "quadragesimam venit rex Rotho-"magum; et mortuo Rotgerio ab-"bate S. Audoeni, viro summæ "religionis, eandem abbatiam dedit "Haimerico cellerario Becci. Paulo "ante obierant in Anglia Robertus "Herefordensis et Robertus Lin-"colniensis episcopi." (Migne, clx. 502.) Robert, bishop of Hereford, died Feb. 27, 1167.

[3] Amongst other benefactions, he gave to the church two grand and sonorous bells (*infra*, 37, 198). This gift very probably tells us of the completion of the late Norman work, in one or other of the western towers, shortly before or during the time when he was bishop elect. We have not an atom of actual history, as to when or by whom the late Norman work of the west front was erected. A gift of bells very often followed upon the completion of a tower ready to receive them.

The latter part, relating Geoffrey's warlike services in 1174, and his always filial adherence to his father, is probably Giraldus's own.

Geoffrey at once enlists our sympathies, because of his always dutiful affection and services to his father, as contrasted with the disaffection and rebellions of the legitimate sons. Throughout he was "Vere filius natu- *Infra,* 37.
"ralis, quoniam patri naturaliter adhærens et fideliter "assistens." No doubt his right and natural place would have been in the court, and the camp, and in marshalling hosts for the wild fury of the battle-field, far rather than in peaceful cathedral precincts, and in the tender duties of a Christian bishop. His pugnacious Plantagenet propensities seem ever to have prevailed with him. As archbishop of York, which he became in 1191, he was at variance with king Richard his brother, with hi suffragan the bishop of Durham and others, and in continual high warfare with his dean and canons of York. He put himself, again, in fierce opposition to his brother John; and the last years of his archiepiscopate were spent in exile. But there is good reason for supposing that Geoffrey, in all this unseemly strife, was the gallant, though perhaps very rash and imprudent champion of righteousness. We can readily understand that he may have had good and righteous reasons for opposing measures of Richard and John: and a strong proof that he had right on his side in the quarrels with his chapter, is given by the fact that St. Hugh of Lincoln so strongly took his part. St. Hugh was a papal delegate in the matter, and went so far as to defy the papal mandate for Geoffrey's suspension. When the canons of York were urgent upon him to obey it, he curtly declared that he would be himself hanged, rather than pass sentence of suspension upon the archbishop.[1]

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[1] Hoveden says, under 1195, vol. iii. 305,—"Canonici Eboracensis "ecclesiæ sæpe et multum sollicita- "verunt Hugonem Lincolniensem

What little our Lincoln authorities tell us of Geoffrey, is in his favour. The York history, notwithstanding his warfare with the York dignitaries, has not a word against him: on the contrary, it describes him as a "Vir magnæ abstinentiæ et summæ puritatis."[1] Wendover, recording his death, says that for seven years he had been in exile, in the cause of the church's liberty, and the execution of justice.[2]

In his Life of Geoffrey, Giraldus says that he was older than Henry's legitimate sons,[3] and close upon twenty years of age when elected to Lincoln in 1173.[4] Again he says that Geoffrey's consecration to York in 1191 was in the fortieth year of his age.[5] These dates of Giraldus are not exactly to be reconciled: strange indeed would it be, if in matters of date he made no

"episcopum, ut ipse sententiam in-"terdicti et suspensionis proferret "in Galfridum Eboracensem archi-"episcopum. . . . . Quibus præ-"fatus Lincolniensis episcopus re-"spondit, quod mallet suspendi "quam archiepiscopum illum sus-"pendere. Quo audito, præfati "canonici miserunt nuncios suos "Romam ad Celestinum papam, "conquerentes quod Lincolniensis "episcopus, et ceteri judices sui "delegati, non processerunt secun-"dum formam apostolici mandati."

St. Hugh was always ready with a pun and a joke. I think that the rendering which I have given in the text to his "mallet suspendi," is no doubt the true rendering.

[1] *Act. Pont. Ebor.* of Thos. Stubbs, Twysden, 1724.

[2] Wendover, at the beginning of his year 1213, after stating that John kept Christmas at Westminster, then adds, "Quo etiam tempore "Galfridus, Eboracensis archiepi-"scopus, postquam per septennium "pro libertate ecclesiæ et execu-"tione justitiæ exilium passus est, "diem clausit extremum." Geoffrey died Dec. 18, 1212. Wendover perhaps places his death at the time when the news of it reached him in England, rather than at the time of its actual occurrence. Instead of Wendover's seven years of exile, the York history has, more correctly, five years.

[3] "Inter fratres legitimos, Henricum tertium, Pictavensium quoque et Britonum comites, naturalis "ipse, natuque major, non minori "diligentia est et dilectione nutri-"tus." *Anglia Sacra*, ii. 378.

[4] "Cum adhuc quartum ætatis "suæ vix lustrum implesset, patris "assensu, unanimique fratrum con-"cordia, vacante sede Lincolniensi, "in ejusdem loci episcopatum est "electus." *Ibid.*

[5] "Facta est autem hæc conse-"cratio, anno ætatis consecrati XL., ". . . . anno ab incarnatione Do"mini MCXCI." *Ibid.*, 388.

blunder. But he is not wrong by more than a year or so. It is clear enough that Geoffrey was the son of some early mistress of Henry,[1] and was born before Henry's accession to the throne of England. That he was a son of fair Rosamond, is a mere embellishment of after romance. Rosamond was a love of Henry's later years, after he had banished queen Eleanor to her long imprisonment.[2] The only contemporary writer, so far as I know, who has any notice of Geoffrey's mother, is Walter Map, a romancing writer, and Geoffrey's bitter enemy, whose testimony therefore in this case is worth very little. He says that she was a "meretrix quædam "publica, nihil immunditiæ dedignans," by name Ykenai or Hikenai; and that Geoffrey was a "filius populi," whom she had impudently deluded Henry into accepting as his son, spite of universal belief to the contrary.[3]

Map's name of Geoffrey's mother may perhaps be true, however untrue may be the vile character he gives her. Another bastard son of Henry II., William Longespée earl of Salisbury, is also with Geoffrey, by after romancers, made a son of fair Rosamond. Is there any evidence that these romancers are so far right, when they make Geoffrey and Longespée full brothers? I have a notion that there is proof of this, though I cannot lay my hands upon it. Now Longespée laid claim to the inheritance of a Sir Roger de Akeny;[4] a name so near to Map's Ykenai, that we can hardly help supposing them identical. It seems probable that Geoffrey's mother was a knight's daughter or sister, and not such a low outcast as Map very improbably represents. Any notice

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[1] Walter Map confirms this. He speaks of Geoffrey being recognized by Henry as his son in the beginning of his reign. *De Nugis Curialium*, Camden Soc., 228, l. 1.

[2] See Giraldus's *De Principis Instructione*, p 21 and 22, Brewer.

[3] *De Nugis Curialium*, Camden Soc., p. 228 and 235.

[4] I am unable to give a reference for this statement, but I am assured of its truth by information from Professor Stubbs.

of the family of Akeny is perhaps to be sought in Norman, rather than in English history.

Infra, 37, n. 3.

Walter de Coutances, 1183–1184.

Geoffrey resigned the see of Lincoln, without consecration to it, January 6, 1182. His successor, Walter de Coutances, was elected
Infra, 38, n. 3.
May 8, 1183,[1] and was consecrated abroad July 3. He made his first appearance at Lincoln, and was enthroned, Dec. 11 of the same year. Within less than six months, perhaps much less, he was elected, or postulated[2] rather,
Infra, 38, n 4.
to the archbishopric of Rouen, but was not enthroned there until Feb. 24, 1185.

At the time of his election to Lincoln Walter de Coutances, as we are elsewhere told by Giraldus,[3] was archdeacon of Oxford, treasurer of Rouen, and "archisi-" gillarius" of Henry II. He was a very able and busy man, and a man of great note and great power, in the court and councils and doings of the later years of Henry II.; and for a time equally in high favour, and

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[1] According to Ben. Abb., he was elected unanimously by the chapter of Lincoln. But he was not the person recommended to them by Henry II., who therefore forbade his consecration, because elected without his will and assent, and appealed thereon to the pope (*Gesta H. Secundi*, i. 299, Stubbs). Henry, however, soon relaxed his opposition. After the death of the young king Henry, June 11, 1183, Ben. Abb. says that all was peace, and that master Walter de Coutances, elect of Lincoln, was ordained priest, and a few days afterwards consecrated bishop of Lincoln (*ibid.*, 304). There is, however, something not quite congruous in these statements of Ben. Abb., because Walter was ordained priest, not after the death of the young king, but on the very day of his death. Ralph de Diceto, a personal friend and correspondent of Walter de Coutances, tells us much about his election and consecration to Lincoln (Twysden, 615, l. 16, &c., 692, l. 50, &c.), but says nothing whatever of any opposition of Henry II. Ben. Abb. is a quite sufficient authority that there was some such opposition; but Diceto's silence about it, and the short time that elapsed between Walter's election on May 8, and his consecration on July 3, prove that this opposition was very brief indeed,—perhaps little more than some of Henry's savage words, according to his usual fury, on first hearing of any opposition to his will.

[2] See Glossary, *infra*, 256.

[3] In his Life of archbishop Geoffrey, *Anglia Sacra*, ii. 399.

graced with still higher appointments by Richard I. His history would be a very long one; but it belongs to the courts of Henry II. and Richard I., and to the archbishopric of Rouen, and very little indeed to the bishopric of Lincoln, to his very brief connection with which I must confine myself. In the little that our Lincoln authorities say of him, they closely agree; but Giraldus is somewhat more ample than John de Schalby, and he no doubt somewhat improved, as he thought, upon the original records. The only additional statement they give us, as to his Lincoln episcopate, is that he disgraced himself, and greatly offended his chapter, by confirming bishop Chesney's gift of churches to the Sempringham house of St. Catherine without Lincoln. This perhaps not disgraceful deed, with the dates and circumstances of his election, &c., to Lincoln, as gathered above from other contemporary and good sources, form the whole amount of his Lincoln history. He came to Lincoln and was enthroned; he may have stayed there for a few days afterwards, or a few weeks perhaps, but he could not have stayed for long. His deed in favour of St. Catherine's may have been executed on the very day of his enthronement. At any rate, with his enthronement, and this deed, his Lincoln history ends.

Infra, 38, 199.

The Lincoln records, according to John de Schalby's compilation from them, stated that though called Walter de Coutances, he was a native of Cornwall. Giraldus further says that he was a true Cornish Briton, sprung from the noble Trojan stem of Corineus. This probably is a mere fanciful embellishment of Giraldus, upon the Cornish nativity of the Lincoln history. We may perhaps rather suppose that Walter de Coutances, as his name almost proves, was a member of a Norman family settled in Cornwall, which still, as very generally, retained in the middle of the twelfth century its Norman name.

Infra, 199.

Infra, 38.

Hugh of Burgundy, 1186–1200.

The hitherto close agreement between Giraldus and John de Schalby naturally ends, as I have said in note 2, p. 39 *infra*, with the episcopate of Walter de Coutances. The first edition of this *Vita S. Remigii* was issued about 1198, during the
Supra, p. xi. lifetime of Walter's successor Hugh of Burgundy; and
Infra, 39, &c. Giraldus's account of St. Hugh in Cap. XXVI., as we
Supra, p. xiv. now here have it only in a second edition, addressed to archbishop Langton about fifteen years afterwards, is no doubt mainly the same as that of the first edition of 1198; and therefore was not derived from the entry made in the Lincoln records, after St. Hugh's death, as John de Schalby's would of course be.

In the above-named note I speak of some "possible" alteration in the later edition; but I now think that I ought to have said "very probable" instead, or "almost "certain." What Giraldus says about Hugh's completion
Infra, 40. of the building of the choir, for instance, can hardly have been true in 1198: there seems good evidence that it was only just and barely completed at the time of Hugh's death in November 1200.[1] What follows directly about

[1] See *Magna Vita S. Hugonis*, Preface, xxxii. note.

Hugh's choir cannot well have been actually begun, until some two or three years or more after his accession to Lincoln; there were large means and large materials, and a large body of skilled workmen to be first gathered. No English writer, so far as I know, gives a hint as to when the work was begun; but in a quarter whence perhaps we should least of all have expected any such information,—the Irish Annals of Multifernan, printed by the Irish Archæological Society in 1842, in vol. ii. of their tracts,—we are told, among one or two other brief notices of Lincoln matters, that it was in 1192 that the foundation of the church of Lincoln was laid. The entry under that year in these annals, which are in Latin, and written about 1274, is, "Jacitur "fundamentum ecclesiæ Lincolniæ." Their Lincoln entries were probably derived from some English ecclesiastic who had settled in Ireland, and had before been in some way connected with Lincoln. We may well accept their 1192 as the true date of the actual commencement of Hugh's choir. The eight years, between 1192 and Hugh's death in

his beginning an episcopal palace at Lincoln, and purposing to finish it in a far ampler and nobler fashion than its predecessor, can hardly have been written until after his death. These entries about Hugh's buildings at Lincoln, I think, must have been altered considerably, if not entirely added in the second edition. *Infra*, 41.

Contents of Chapters XXVII.–XXIX.

Giraldus has already, in this his life of Remigius, wandered far away from his subject, after his manner, in giving the history of the successors of Remigius up to his own time. In the last three long chapters of the life, XXVII.–XXIX., which occupy in the manuscript several more pages than all the preceding part of the treatise, he wanders much further away from Remigius, far away altogether even from Lincoln. In these three chapters, he gives in three pairs, accounts or anecdotes rather, of the six more laudable bishops, after his estimation, of his own time. Cap. XXVII. is devoted to St. Thomas of Canterbury, and his consecrator, bishop Henry de Blois of Winchester: Cap. XXVIII. to bishop Bartholomew of Exeter, and Roger of Worcester: Cap. XXIX. to archbishop Baldwin of Canterbury, and bishop Hugh of Lincoln. Of the value of what Giraldus here tells us of these extra-Lincoln bishops, I shall say very little. The anecdotes of them which he gives are no doubt interesting and valuable in a way; but they seem to me to be, in large measure, rather the idle gossip of the day, than sober truthful history. But I must confess that I have not so closely gone into the history of these bishops, as at all to make me a judge of what Giraldus says about them. The contents of these chapters, with the exception of part of Cap. XXIX., are so utterly *Infra*, 43–80.

1200, would be quite enough for finishing the choir, with all his energies pushing on the work; but we can hardly suppose that such progress could have been made, some two years, or perhaps more, before Hugh's death, when Giraldus compiled the first edition of this treatise.

foreign to Remigius, and to Lincoln in any way, that I have deemed it but right and natural, in a volume dedicated to Lincoln history, to pass them over thus cursorily, with very little examination, large part of the life of Remigius though they occupy.

§ 4. After Use of this Treatise.

This life of St. Remigius, a mere local Lincoln history in great part, we can hardly expect to find used or mentioned by after writers other than Lincoln ones. No general historian, so far as I know, and no monastic historian of any house in the diocese of Lincoln, ever makes use of it. It even seems plain, as I have *Supra*, p. xvi. before said, that the most important by far of after Lincoln historians, John de Schalby, closely as he often agrees with this treatise, yet drew nothing from it. He may well have been acquainted with it, as Giraldus *Supra*, p. xii. had given a copy to the Lincoln library; but if so, then he very wisely chose to draw his materials, as to the bishops up to 1200, not from Giraldus, a mere compiler, but from the contemporary Lincoln histories ot these bishops, which had supplied to Giraldus all that was authentic in his accounts of them. But it is possible that Schalby never saw this treatise of Giraldus, it was lost from the library we know before the end of the century succeeding his, and for anything we *Ibid.* know to the contrary, may have been lost before his own time. This, however, is not very likely, as this treatise of Giraldus was certainly used, amongst other authorities, by a later very brief compiler of Lincoln history, who wrote about the year 1440; a copy of whose work is preserved in a Cottonian manuscript of the British Museum.[1] It seems far more likely that John

[1] Titus A. xix., f. 4, &c The writer of this treatise must have derived some of his information from Giraldus's Life of Remigius. For instance, he says of bishop Chesney, "Hic prebendam ecclesiæ

de Schalby was acquainted with this life of Remigius; but wisely forebore to make any use of it, as he had far better and contemporary authorities, in the early Lincoln records, from which to draw his materials. The use of this treatise of Giraldus in the Titus A. xix. treatise, is the only instance of any such after use that I am able to produce. Rather oddly, the Titus writer, though certainly knowing and quoting from Giraldus's Life of Remigius, seems to have known nothing, at all events makes no use, of the later history of the Lincoln bishops by John de Schalby, which was certainly at Lincoln when he wrote, and would have helped him much for the bishops between 1200 and 1330.

"Lincoln' adquisivit, et domos de "veteri templo London' ecclesiæ "suæ comparavit; domosque in "palacio Lincoln' sumptibus mag- "nis fecit." It is clear that he derived this from Giraldus (*infra*, 35), and not from Schalby (*infra*, 198); especially because he follows Giraldus in attributing to Chesney the erection of episcopal buildings at Lincoln, a fact not mentioned, and contradicted rather, by Schalby, and afterwards contradicted also by Giraldus himself, when, with Schalby, he says that it was St. Hugh, who began these buildings (*infra*, 35, n. 4 and 41).

Again, of the next bishop Geoffrey elect, this writer says, "Hic, in suo "inicio, ecclesiam suam Lincoln', "quam predecessor suus erga Aaron "Judeum obligaverat, redimendo "statim acquietavit. Et quia patri "suo, circa dies extremos, maxime "necessarius videbatur, ecclesiam "Lincoln', patre procurante, sponte "resignavit." This is plainly derived from Giraldus (*infra*, 36, &c.). Schalby has nothing of its being "in suo inicio," when Geoffrey paid the debt to Aaron, and nothing about his father's need of him, or his resignation of the see (*infra*, 198).

It is clear that this Titus A. xix. compiler did derive from Giraldus's Life of Remigius, and it seems equally clear that he made no use of John de Schalby. There is not the slightest shadow of reason for supposing,—very solid reason instead to the contrary,—that, in common with them, he drew directly from the Lincoln records. I speak of him as *deriving* from Giraldus, because it is perfectly possible that he did not draw directly from him, but from some now unknown intermediate compiler of Lincoln history.

§ 5. Wharton's Edition of this Treatise.

This life of Remigius was printed by Wharton in 1691, from the then as now one C. C. C. manuscript, in the second part of his *Anglia Sacra*, but in a curtailed form, and in a very blundering way. He omits Chapters VI.–IX., and Chapters XI.–XX., which record miracles imputed to Remigius. He divides the life into two separate treatises,[1] including in the first the accounts of the bishops from Remigius toSt. Hugh, as in Chapters I.–XXVI., and in the second the accounts of the three pairs of the more notable bishops of his own time, as in Chapters XXVII.–XXIX.; though all the while giving to those three last chapters their regular numbering as a part of the Life of Remigius, and after having made no division into two treatises in his summary of the chapters of this life.

Infra, 22, &c., 26, &c.

Omissions, &c., in Wharton.

Infra, 43, n. 1.

Moreover, after his summary of chapters, Wharton adds the headings of the eleven chapters of the second Dis-

Insertions of fragments of the life of St. Hugh.

Infra, 10, n. 2.

[1] Wharton says (*Anglia Sacra*, ii. 408), "Duæ proxime sequentes " Giraldi historiæ ex uno eodemque " decerptæ sunt Opere, quod ipse " *Legendam S. Remigii* inscripsit. " Idem tamen alibi pluries historiam " suam *De Vitis Episcoporum Lin-* " *colniensium*, et tractatum *De Co-* " *pula tergemina*, seu sex episcopis " sui temporis, laudavit; adeo ut hi " tituli historiis Giraldi præ mani- " bus, authore non invito, apponi " possint. Reliqua Operis memorati " capitula, utpote mire fabulosa, re- " jeci; integrum tamen eorundem " indiculum, qualis codici MS. præ- " fixus comparet, exhibere consul- " tum duxi."

Where Wharton can have found, even once, instead of his many times, anything in Giraldus's other writings at all countenancing him, as he here represents, in his division of the Life of Remigius into two histories, I cannot make out. If Giraldus speaks of his Lives of the bishops of Lincoln, he means the two Lives as given in this volume,—the Life of Remigius, with all its extraneous matter, and the Life of St. Hugh as now first printed; and when he speaks of the *Copula Tergemina*, he only speaks of it as a part of the Life of Remigius. So far as I have been able to find out there is no word of Giraldus that is any excuse even for Wharton's statements.

tinction of the entirely separate life of St. Hugh, and of the six chapters of its third Distinction ; leaving us only to suppose that he considered these as belonging to second and third parts of Giraldus's life of Remigius, and amongst those portions which he refused to publish as "mire fabulosa." And again, at the end of the life, he adds the first chapter of the third Distinction of the life of St. Hugh. *Infra*, 80, n. 4.

The MS. perhaps never seen by Wharton himself.

It is clear that Wharton can never have seen, at any rate never examined at all, the C. C. Cambridge manuscript from which he printed his life of Remigius. And it seems as if of the transcripts of the two lives which he procured from the manuscript, while the life of Remigius remained in his hands safe and entire, the succeeding life of St. Hugh had been by some accident lost, except a mere fragment or two, when he, or his editor prepared the life of Remigius for the press. I say, "or his editor," advisedly ; because I believe that Wharton himself could never have edited in the strange blundering way in which this life of Remigius of his is edited. At the end of the general preface to the two lives of Remigius and St. Hugh, Giraldus says that he had prefixed to each life, first a table of the chapters, and then a proeme, which is the case of course with the life of Remigius, and the life of St. Hugh, and equally of course is not the case with the three last chapters of the life of Remigius, which in Wharton are made a separate treatise. Again, at the end of the proeme to the life of Remigius, Giraldus describes this treatise as divisible into four "particulæ," the first of which would comprise the life and gests of Remigius, the second his miracles, the third the history of his six successors, the fourth the history of the three pairs of the six more excellent bishops of Giraldus's time. If any division of this treatise was to be made, it certainly ought to have been into four parts, instead

And Wharton perhaps not even the editor of the treatise.

Infra, 7.

Infra, 13.

of the two of Wharton. It seems impossible to believe that such a scholar as Wharton, if he had much or even ever so little to do with the editing of this life of Remigius, could have ignored these statements, with other such to the same purport in others of Giraldus's works with which he professes to be acquainted. He must, one would think, if he had anything to do with the editing, have seen at once that his transcript from the manuscript was defective, and that the manuscript contained a distinct life of St. Hugh, as well as the life of Remigius.

The editor, whoever he was, seems to have had a right impression on his mind, that the manuscript contained two distinct treatises; and, in the loss of all but fragments of the transcript of the second treatise, seems to have relieved his mind by the strange bungling concoction of the first treatise into two, as it appears in the *Anglia Sacra*, under Wharton's name and full sanction. If Wharton was in any degree really the editor, he did his work in a most careless and unscholarlike way, marvellous scholar though he was. If he took no part in the editing, as seems to me more probably the case, yet he was very unwise and very wrong, in thus staking his name and credit on the accuracy and sufficient scholarship of the editor whom he employed.

Minor omissions in Wharton.

Besides the omission in Wharton, already mentioned, of the miracle chapters, there are one or two other minor ones to be noticed. He omits quotations from Holy Scripture and St. Jerome, at p. 61, n. 7, *infra*. He omits the word "inter," and adds *interjacentem* to make sense; 19, n. 2. He omits the words "ausus est," to the manifest detriment of the sense of the passage; 68, n. 4.

Additions.

In one or two other cases he adds a word or two, besides the *interjacentem* just mentioned. To the "tortoribus" of the apostle St. Thomas's martyrdom, he adds *et cruciatibus*; 51, n. 7. In another case

he adds, very unnecessarily, the word *dominetur* to a sentence; 61, n. 6.

Alterations of words, &c.

There are many alterations of words or sentences; all unnecessary, several of them ruining the meaning of what Giraldus wrote. I will mention the more important of them; some of which would perhaps have been better classed amongst additions, rather than alterations.

Giraldus's heading to the general preface to Langton is dropped, and a new one of Wharton, or his editor, put in its place; 3, n. 1. And so again, the heading to the table of chapters is materially altered; and moreover the table itself placed at the beginning, before the preface to Langton, instead of in its right place after it; 9, n. 1. Wharton gives *verbum* instead of "urbem," making utter nonsense, 18, n. 1: *et opera* instead of "operam," again to the ruin of the sense, 19, n. 1: *Cantuariensis*, equally nonsensical, instead of "Cartusiensis," 39, n. 3: *capitulum* instead of "capicium," 40, n. 5: *coram* instead of "et," 64, n. 2: *sublevaret* instead of "juvaret," 67, n. 2: and *Hugo* instead of "enim," making out that the name of archbishop Baldwin of Canterbury was Hugh, 67, n. 5. There is an unnecessary reconstruction of a sentence, 65, n. 2; and in the description of Hugh's swan, a plain sentence is altered, much for the worse, 75, n. 2.

This Life of Remigius in the *Anglia Sacra*, I must just repeat, is very badly edited; and so very badly, that I can scarcely imagine it possible that Wharton himself can have had anything to do with it, further than giving his name. Others of the treatises in the *Anglia Sacra*, which have been collated with the manuscripts from which Wharton printed, are also very badly edited.[1] It would seem that several of the treatises, to

[1] See the Preface to vol. vi., p. lviii, &c., and especially lix., n. 2. I there spoke of Wharton as employing others to transcribe for him

say the least, in the *Anglia Sacra*, were certainly not transcribed from the manuscripts by Wharton himself, and some of them not even edited by him.

Wharton's Capitulum. One verbal alteration in Wharton's text calls perhaps for some special notice. By reading *capitulum*[1] instead of "capicium," he makes out that Giraldus says that St. Hugh built the chapter-house, and that Giraldus says nothing as to his building the choir. Professor Willis, some 20 or more years ago, at a meeting of the Archæological Institute at Lincoln, explained the architectural impossibilities almost that the chapter-house could have been built by St. Hugh; and tried to make out that the *capitulum* of Giraldus, in Wharton's *Anglia Sacra*, must mean the choir, and not the chapter-house. He was wrong in supposing that "capitulum," in an English writer of that time, when applied to a part of the church, could possibly mean anything else but the chapter-house;[2] but the true reading of Giraldus, "capicium," proves how right he was—in his obstinate conclusion, against what Giraldus's history as he knew it told him—that St. Hugh, whilst he built the choir, did not build the

from the manuscripts, but without expressing any doubt as to his having himself edited the works issued under his name. I now further have to express my belief that he sometimes must have edited as well by proxy.

[1] There is no excuse for this blunder. "Capicium" is written in full in the manuscript, as plainly and certainly as it could be in print in the largest and clearest and perfectest of Messrs. Spottiswoode's type.

[2] I heard the lecture. Professor Willis has, I believe, never printed it. If I remember rightly, he produced one or two instances from foreign writers, where *capitulum* seems to mean the choir or part of the choir; very possibly those writers may have blundered in the reading of their manuscripts, as well as Wharton's transcriber. But however this may be, all foreign evidence of use of the word is simply worthless. In every English writer, long before and long after Giraldus's time, the word *capitulum*, when used for a part of the fabric, is the regular word for the chapter-house, and can mean nothing else. About 1300, or soon afterwards, we find "Domus "capitularis" instead.

chapter-house.[1] Other good authorities have since insisted that the chapter-house must have been built after St. Hugh's time,—Mr. Sharpe, for instance, very decidedly, at the diocesan architectural society's meeting at Lincoln in June 1868,—without attempting to reconcile their conclusions from its architectural details with the *capitulum* of Wharton's text of Giraldus. The true reading, "capicium," instead of Wharton's *capitulum*, will, I trust, comfort the hearts of such expositors of the architectural history of Lincoln cathedral. I know that I was greatly delighted, when "capicium" first lighted on my eye in the manuscript.

§ 6. Life of St. Hugh.

The *Vita S. Hugonis*, the second of Giraldus's treatises of this volume, is now for the first time printed, — excepting, however, the few lines incorporated by Wharton into his edition of the Life of Remigius,—from the same C.C.C. No. 425 manuscript, which gives the latter Life. The two Lives are in the hand of the same excellent and accurate scribe.

Supra, xliv., &c.

This the only edition of this Life, circa 1213.

There is every reason for supposing that this Life, as we here have it, is the only edition of it ever issued by Giraldus. And if so, it was not issued before 1210, because he speaks

[1] The only history, so far as I know, of the chapter-house, is given by the Metrical Life of St. Hugh, written perhaps in 1220 or soon afterwards, certainly before 1235, which is printed *infra*, in an appendix to this Preface. The author's very poetical description of the chapter-house will be found in ll. 956–961. He is prosaic enough to mention the "quadra porticus" of entrance, and its own "spatium orbiculare." What he says proves that the chapter-house was complete, or nearly complete, by 1235 at the latest, and probably several years before. He seems to say that it had been begun, to say the least, by St. Hugh; but his "quorum perfectio" of l. 962 may perhaps belong to the church generally, which he had been describing, and not to the last item only of his description, the chapter-house.

of St. Hugh as " Hugo primus,"[1] which proves certainly that he was writing after the consecration of Hugh de Wells, the second bishop of the name, December 20, 1209. As we have already seen, the volume containing these two Lives was presented to archbishop Langton, not later than the autumn of 1214: and this Life of St. Hugh cannot have been written long before this last limit; because, in the last chapter of *Distinc.* II., Giraldus says that he has been describing only miracles of St. Hugh which occurred before the interdict now
Infra, 135. " tam *diuturnum*," and that he leaves to others to describe the miracles since the interdict commenced.
Infra, 136. Moreover he says that Hugh de Wells will no doubt amply reward such writers of the later miracles. This he could not have said before Hugh de Wells's occupation of the bishopric in 1213.[2] We may safely conclude that it was towards the end of the interdict when he wrote this Life, and probably circa A.D. 1213.

The third Distinction an after addition.

This is true, however, only of the two first Distinctions, which comprised the whole treatise as first written. The third Distinction, describing some miracles of St. Hugh during the Interdict, was an after addition, made by Giraldus at the request of his friend Roger, dean of Lincoln.[3] Roger de Roldeston, a zealous believer in his friend and patron St. Hugh and his miracles, was dean until 1223. His name is the only clue given us, and it is in reality no clue whatever, as to the exact date of this addition to the treatise. When this third Distinction was added it is therefore impossible exactly to say: it may have

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[1] *Infra*, 83, n. 1; 87, n. 1; 88, n. 1.

[2] John's Letters Patent, rendering their bishoprics to Hugh de Wells and the other bishops in exile, are dated June 1, 1213. *Rot. Lit. Pat.*, 99. They returned to England July 16. *Wendover*, iii., 260. The Interdict was not relaxed until June 29 of the following year. *Ibid.*, 284.

[3] *Infra*, 137, 135, cap. xiii., and 85, n. 6.

been before the presentation to Langton, and it may not have been until one or two or more years afterwards. We may be sure, however, that it was added before 1219, when active measures were in fast forwardness for Hugh's canonization: had such been the case when Giraldus wrote this third Distinction, he would most certainly have somehow made mention of it.

Giraldus's means of information. Giraldus, as we have already seen, was residing at Lincoln during about three of the last years of Hugh's pontificate, 1196–1199. Somewhat therefore certainly, perhaps much, of what he tells us about him, in the first Distinction of this Life, as well as in the Life of Remigius issued before Hugh's death, is the record of his own personal knowledge of Hugh, and his virtues, and his doings. Once, in the case of Hugh's pet swan, he says that he himself was a witness to what he describes. But whatever may have been his own direct acquaintance with St. Hugh himself, he must have been in continual intercourse, during his stay at Lincoln, with the dean and canons and other members of the church, and occasionally no doubt, if not often, with the immediate members of Hugh's household. He had, no doubt, most excellent means of information, as to the later years of Hugh when bishop of Lincoln. Of the earlier years of Hugh's life, in Burgundy or at Witham, he says very little. As to the account of Hugh's miracles in Distinctions II. and III., it is clear that he simply drew from the Register of Miracles kept by the custodians of Hugh's tomb, copying from it almost closely,—quite closely, we may believe, as to the facts stated,—though with some improving embellishments of diction from his scholastic pen.

Supra, xi.

Infra, 75, l. 18.

We know almost nothing of how or where Giraldus's latter years were passed, after his retirement from the St. David's conflict in December 1203. This life of St. Hugh makes it very likely that he returned to Lincoln, and spent again some time amongst his old friends there

However good his memory, and no doubt it was a very good one, of what he had heard and seen in his residence at Lincoln in 1196–99, yet he writes much that seems to speak of an after familiarity with Lincoln, especially as regards the miracles which he relates. Nowhere else could he have found the materials at his hand for these miracles. If he did not again visit Lincoln, and draw himself from what he found there recorded, he must have had a copy of the register of Hugh's tomb sent to him by Roger the dean, or by some other of his Lincoln friends.

Marginal additions.

Besides the addition of the third Distinction to the treatise as first issued, there are two marginal additions, each only of a single word, which are perhaps worth mention. The first is the addition of the name Auselmus to the archbishop of Ragusa, who was one of the archbishops present at Hugh's funeral. This addition seems wrong. Other contemporary authorities, so far as I know—and he is several times spoken of—all call him Bernardus when they mention his name (114, n. 4.)

The second addition is of the word "primo" to the mention of John's expedition into Poitou in 1206 (137, n. 3). He made a second expedition into Poitou in February 1214, before which time his expedition of 1206 would not be called his first. This addition therefore was not made before the spring of 1214. It is an additional proof that the treatise was first issued circa 1213.

Value of this treatise.

No doubt there is much that is valuable and interesting in the ancedotes of St. Hugh that Giraldus gives us in this treatise first Distinction. Many of them are not to be found elsewhere, except in the Metrical Life which only closely follows him. Where he is in common with independent authorities, it is plain that he is telling us sober truth, according to his best information; and what he tells us, that

no other contemporary writer does, we may accept as such. This treatise is, in fact, except some small part from his own acquaintance with St. Hugh, a simple compilation of what he was told and found recorded at Lincoln. It has none of his usual classical and scholastic vagaries; it seems to have been penned without his heart or scholarly labour in it. He was not the man really to appreciate such a man as St. Hugh, notwithstanding his expressed admiration and reverence of him; and this life seems to me to have been the work of a man who was doing a task set him, not the work of a labour of love.

[At this point Mr. Dimock's own manuscript ends. On the historical value of Giraldus' Life of St. Hugh, and on the pieces which he has printed in the Appendix, he has left no materials, except where some of them are incidentally spoken of when he is treating of Giraldus' Lives of the other bishops of Lincoln. From this point therefore I have to go on with such notices of them as I am able to put together, which from the nature of the case must be of a strictly historical kind.—E. A. F.]

General character of Giraldus and his writings.

In estimating the historical value of any work of Giraldus Cambrensis, we must remember the twofold character of the man with whom we are dealing. We are dealing with one who was vain, garrulous, careless as to minute accuracy, even so far careless as to truth as to be, to say the least, ready to accept statements which told against an enemy without carefully weighing the evidence for them. We are dealing with one who was not very scrupulous as to consistency, and who felt no special shame at contradicting himself. But we are also dealing with one of the most learned men of a learned age, with one who, whatever we say as to the soundness of his judgement, came behind few in the sharpness of his wits—with one who looked with a keen, if not an impartial, eye

on all the events and controversies of his own time—with one, above all, who had mastered more languages than most men of his time, and who had looked at them with an approach to a scientific view which still fewer men of his time shared with him. I have elsewhere ventured to call him "the father of comparative philology,"[1] and I see no reason to withdraw the title. A work of Giraldus then has a twofold value, or rather, even if it is worthless on one side, it is sure to be precious on the other. He may be telling a spiteful tale or repeating a frivolous legend; but in the way of telling it he is sure to use some incidental expression, to bring in some incidental illustration, which adds to our knowledge, very often of facts, always of the way in which men looked at facts. In this way, though the substance of a writing of Giraldus may be of very little historical value, there is always something to be learned from the form into which he throws its substance. In the present Life of St. Hugh we see Giraldus at once at his best and at his worst. He is at his worst because he is at his best. Because he was telling sober truth, or what he received as such—because he was simply setting down what he had heard and read and, to some extent, seen—his work is, in one sense, of higher historical value than most of his works. But because he wrote in this way, he wrote, to repeat Mr. Dimock's phrase, "without heart or scholarly labour." Had he been praising himself or reviling somebody else, the heart and the scholarly labour would have been given, and we should have had a work, morally far less creditable to its author, far less to be trusted by his readers, but which would have been far richer in those incidental touches and references which in his other writings set the man and his age before us in such a living way. Giraldus seems to have found at Lincoln only friends

Character of his Life of St. Hugh.

[1] See Norman Conquest, vol. v., p. 579. I think that I have made good his claim to the title in Comparative Politics, 486.

and just men, dead or alive. Here he had no one to abuse, no wrongs or grievances to complain of. For this in one way we suffer. Giraldus in a good fit, writing soberly, is comparatively dull, comparatively uninstructive. Had the church of Lincoln contained any of those monsters of wickedness which he found in other churches, had he suffered at Lincoln the wrongs which he conceived himself to have suffered at other places, we should have been gainers, not in the truth of the actual narrative, but in the stores of incidental information which would have been thrown out at random. It is sad to have to say it; but Giraldus was far less in his element in setting forth the undoubted virtues and good deeds of Hugh of Lincoln than he was in setting forth the real or alleged vices and evil deeds of William of Ely.

Value of the Life.

The Life of St. Hugh then is, in the strictly historical part, sober and trustworthy enough. The miraculous stories stand on the same ground as other miraculous stories. Giraldus simply reports what he heard or read; there is no sign of invention or exaggeration. For this reason, while there is much that is true in the Life, there is little that is new; the main facts of St. Hugh's life, and many of the smaller anecdotes, are to be found in the other writers who used the same materials. But Giraldus, even when dullest and most virtuous, could not altogether cease to be both characteristic and instructive. Many of his mere expressions are worthy of notice. Giraldus, inaccurate in many things, and specially inaccurate in his dates, had still a kind of accuracy of his own. He had the accuracy of a wide and keen observation, a kind of accuracy consistent with not a few slips, or even worse than slips, in narrative statement. He

His geography.

is a geographer, marking physical points, and careful in his geographical terminology. In p. 6 of the Introduction to the Life of Remigius,

the description of Lindesey as stretching "ab Humbro "marino usque Witheman fluvium, qui Lincolniam per- "meat and penetrat," sets well before us the great estuary on one side, and on the other the stream which divides the older colony of Lindum from the new town which contains the towers of Coleswegen and the crowning-place of Henry of Anjou.[1] But far more striking is the geographical accuracy of the first sentence of the actual Life of Hugh.[2] It is worth while to compare the words of Giraldus with those of other writers who used the same materials. John of Schalby no doubt preserves to us the words of the local record which he had before him, and which Giraldus had before him also. He simply records Hugh's birth in Burgundy,[3] without stopping to explain which of the many uses of that ambiguous name was to be understood. The author of the Magna Vita[4] either assumed that all the world knew what Hugh meant when he spoke of the "territorium "Gratianopolitanum," or else he was himself careless on

[1] See Norman Conquest, vol. iv., p. 218. Roger of Howden (i. 216) mentions the wearing of the crown by Henry the Second at Wikeford or Wigford in 1158, that is, at the Christmas feast of 1157–58. "Rex "Henricus secundo fecit se coronari "apud Lincolniam extra muros ci- "vitatis in Wikeford." William of Newburgh (ii. 9) adds the reason. "Apud Lincolniam solemniter coro- "natus est in natali Dominico, non "quidem intra mœnia, credo prop- "ter vetustam illam superstitionem "quam Rex Stephanus, ut supra "dictum est, laudabiliter contemp- "sit atque derisit, sed in vico sub- "urbano." The superstition that it was dangerous for a king to enter Lincoln, and Stephen's contempt for it, is mentioned by Henry of Huntingdon (225 B.) and Gervase (1362), but it does not seem that William of Newburgh mentions it himself. See i. 8, 13.

[2] "Vir igitur hic, virorum vir "perpaucorum, de remotis im- "perialis Burgundiæ finibus haud "procul ad Alpibus originem "duxit."

[3] P. 199. He is here simply "Hugo de Aveloni de Burgundia "natus."

[4] The author of the Magna Vita nowhere directly mentions Hugh's birthplace. He twice (iii. 14; v. 14) incidentally speaks of Avalon as the castle of Hugh's brother, and he makes St. Hugh say (i. 1) that the "ecclesia in territorio "Gratianopolitano," where he first studied, was near to his father's lands and castles.

the point. But Giraldus, as if foreseeing the confusions of later times, enlarged the record before him, so as to describe the native land of the saint with the minutest accuracy. Hugh came "de remotis imperialis Burgundiæ "finibus, haud procul ab Alpibus." This accurate description is followed in the Legenda,[1] and swells into the really fine verses of the Metrical Life.[2] The scholar too comes out in one or two of those occasional notices of language of which Giraldus is fond. In p. 96 he shows that either himself or his hero had picked up Hebrew enough to know that the name John "Dei gratia sonat." Giraldus knew English well; but he had somewhat of a Welsh-born Norman's contempt for the tongue of the Saxon, a feeling which is hardly to be found among English-born Normans, or rather Norman-descended Englishmen, of his generation. When Hugh is sent to Witham, he adds, "cui loco vel a candore Witham, vel a sapientia "Witham (littera geminata), barbara quondam lingua "nomen imposuit." In another place he mentions one of the sick persons cured at Hugh's tomb as using the English tongue; but he unluckily does not give us, as he does in some other parts of his writings, the exact English words. It is not however very hard to translate "Deo gratias et Sanctæ Mariæ et Sancto "Hugoni." The person thus speaking was a boy who had been brought up among the chief citizens of Lincoln, men bearing Norman and scriptural names ("Edu-

His notices of language.

Infra, 134.

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[1] See p. 172.

[2] Metrical Life, 2.

"Imperialis ubi Burgundia sur-
"git in Alpes
"Et condescendit Rhodano, con-
"vallia vernant.
"Duplicibus vestitur humus;
"sunt gramina vestis
"Publica, sunt flores vestis
"sollennis, et uno
"Illa colore nitent, set mille
"coloribus illi."

The panegyric goes on through many more lines, and then follows—

"Inter tot flores et gramina
"nascitur Hugo;
"Inter gramina flos, inter flores
"rosa."

"catus erat in domibus Adæ majoris et Reimbaldi divitis "aliorumque majorum de vico illo.") But it should be noticed that the "vicus ille" is again Wigford, part of the new English suburb of Lincoln. It is reckoned however as being part of the city; "in urbe Lincolniensi vico, sci-"licet de Wikeforde." Anyhow, this passage and one or two notices of the "matronæ civitatis" in the next page and elsewhere, give us little glimpses of local Lincoln life in St. Hugh's time. In p. 139 we get another notice of the matrons and their alms, in a story where a poor needlewoman, who sinks into absolute beggary, bears the royal name of Matilda. Here we have a sign of the way in which, by the end of the twelfth century, the Norman personal names had made their way into all ranks.

Notices of nomenclature and local life.

References to general history. Character of Richard I.

The references to the general history of the time are not very many. The most important is that in the eighth chapter of the first *Distinctio*, where we get a short picture of Richard I.,[1] which it might be worth while to compare with the fuller pictures which Giraldus gives in his other works.[2] Richard here appears as a persecutor of the Church, and the story of Hugh's constitutional opposition to Richard's exactions is told from this point of view only. The more strictly political aspect of the great Oxford gathering is brought

Relation of Richard and Hugh.

[1] P. 103. "Accidit quod Rex "Ricardus, post injuriosam ipsius "in Alemannia captionem, et "gravissimam ejusdem postea, "transmarinis Normaannicæ et "Aquitannicæ Galliæ partibus, "guerris fortissimis et pertinacibus "inquietudinem, in Anglicanam "capit ecclesiam duris exactioni-"bus debacchari." The phrase "Normannica Gallia" is an odd one, and "Aquitannica Gallia" is odd also. They were doubtless suggested by the familiar forms "Gallia Belgica" and "Celtica." Aquitania forms the third with these two; but I do not remember the form "Aquitannica Gallia" elsewhere.

[2] See Topographia Hibernica, Distinctio iii., Cap 50. De Instructione Principum, Distinctio iii., Cap. 8.

out more fully, not only in the historians of the time,[1] but also in the Magna Vita itself.[2] Giraldus too cuts short in a singular way, as compared with the Magna Vita, the story which follows about Hugh's dealings with the king. He there appears, not simply as the conventional saint, but as the vigorous rebuker alike of moral and of political wrong. All this Giraldus slurs over, and we get instead only one additional fact, which certainly is not without a certain interest, that, as St. Hugh never ate meat, the king sent him a large pike for his dinner. Now it is to be noticed that this story to which Giraldus does such scant justice shows both actors, king and bishop, alike at his best. It shows that Richard, bad as he was both as man and as king, had at least grace enough left to respect goodness in others. Is it uncharitable to suspect that Giraldus would have told the tale more fully and more eloquently if it had given him any opportunity of abusing somebody?

John's campaign in Poitou in 1206.

In the second chapter of the third *Distinctio*, Giraldus gives as the date of a certain miracle, "tempore quo rex Johannes, cum ex-"ercitus Anglicano [primo] in Pictaviam transfretavit, "et expeditionem in Gasconiam duxit." He adds that the disease which smote John Burdet, and which was afterwards cured at St. Hugh's tomb, came suddenly on the sufferer at the siege of Montauban. Mr. Dimock truly remarks that this refers to John's first expedition in 1206, in which alone he got so far south as Montauban, but that the marginal note "primo" must have been added, most likely by Giraldus himself, after John's second expedition to Poitou in 1214. But the expression

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[1] As by Roger of Howden, iv. 40; Gervase, 1600. See Norman Conquest, v., 695, and Stubbs, Constitutional History, i., 509.

[2] See page 249. While in Giraldus the assembly is merely "collectus in unum regni clerus," in the Magna Vita it is "barones "Angliæ, inter quos et episcopi "censebantur." In Roger of Howden we get the more popular form "homines regni Angliæ."

"cum exercitu Anglicano" should specially be noticed. Roger of Wendover seems purposely to insist on the English character of the army employed in the first expedition. The troops employed are not only generally spoken of as "Angligenæ," which by itself might not prove much, but, in describing the siege of Montauban, Roger makes a marked comment on one feature of the English military character:—"Militia Angliæ, in hoc "potissimum opere laudabilis, muros ascendere ictus"que importabiles dare et recipere festinabat." This reads almost as when the Spartans send for the Athenians to help them against Ithômê, as being better skilled in sieges than themselves.[1] But, in describing the expedition of 1214, Roger uses no such words, and he leaves us to guess that at that late time of John's reign the army was chiefly made up of mercenaries. It would seem then as if the phrase "exercitus Anglicanus" was not used without a meaning. Giraldus, as well as Roger, seems to wish to point out in a marked way that the army of 1206 was made up of natives of England, as opposed to Brabançons or other mercenaries. Their remoter origin, Norman or English, had by that time ceased to be a matter of any importance.

Notice of the king and others present at St. Hugh's funeral.

Another passage where Giraldus touches lightly on an important political event is when, in the first chapter of the second *Distinctio*, he mentions the meeting of the kings of England and Scotland in 1200, and the share which both of them took in the burial of St. Hugh. On this last point he enlarges, but he passes by the very important homage done by William of Scotland to John of England, on which Roger of Howden (iv., 141) is very full. It is characteristic of Giraldus that, among the great crowd of prelates and nobles reckoned up by Roger, Giraldus mentions two only by name, besides the arch-

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[1] Thucydides, i., 102.

bishops of Canterbury and Dublin. These are those whom he describes as "regulus Galwethiæ Rollandus," and "Anselmus archiepiscopus Sclavonensis." Princes of Galloway and archbishops of Ragusa were not so commonly seen as the earls and bishops of England, and Giraldus remarked the strangers accordingly. The vague description of the archbishop of Ragusa as "archiepi- "scopus Sclavonensis" is worthy of note. It seems to point to an union of imperfect information with yearning after precision, which is eminently characteristic of Giraldus. Any Slavonic land, whether on the Baltic or on the Hadriatic, was "Sclavonia" or "Sclavinia" in the language of those days. Giraldus, ethnologer and philologer, was struck with the presence of a bishop from any Slavonic land, so struck with it as to be indifferent both to his name and to the name of his see. To the official Roger of Howden such curious points would have less interest, and he noted the Slavonic prelate in accurate and business-like fashion as Bernard archbishop of Ragusa.

Infra, p. 114, and *supra*.

Reference to the slaughter of the Jews at Richard's coronation. Hugh's care for the burial of the dead.

Another reference to an historical event is found in the seventh chapter of the first *Distinctio*, which contains a mention of the slaughter of the Jews at the coronation of Richard I. On his way towards Westminster to do homage to the new king, Hugh finds an unburied corpse. Before he proceeds to discharge the last corporal work of mercy, he inquires carefully whether the dead man were a Jew or a Christian. The man proved to be a Christian; but the story gives us a singular picture of the streets of London choked with the bodies of slaughtered Jews. But the mention of Hugh's general care for the burial of the dead is also worthy of notice. Just before, in the sixth chapter, we find stories of his care in this respect, which seem to show that neither at Lincoln nor at Le Mans was it an unusual sight to see bodies lying about uncared

for. In the story of his going to Westminster there is an element which is also found in one of the stories of St. Wulfstan.[1] He insists on saying mass before he goes; he stops on the way to bury the dead man; and yet he is in as good time to render his homage as the other bishops. They, it would seem, had neither said mass before they set out nor stopped to do any good works on the road. But the king had kept them idling all the time that their more diligent brother was thus piously employed. The story is told by a contemporary and a personal acquaintance of the chief actor. Yet the moral is so obtrusively obvious that we are tempted to suspect a mythical element in the tale.

Notices of the heriot and the relief.

A passage of some importance in legal history is the fourth chapter of the first *Distinctio,* where Giraldus mentions how St. Hugh remitted certain dues to two of his tenants. In the first case he gives back an ox, which was due to the lord as the best chattel of a dead man ("bovem defuncti cujusdam "de feudo ipsius, tanquam meliorem mortui possessionem, "juxta terræ consuetudinem domino debitam.") In the other case the due remitted is a sum of a hundred shillings, which was to be paid by the son of a deceased knight as the relief of his father's estate ("filio militis de feudo "suo centum solidos post mortem patris more patriæ "domino quasi pro relevatione debitos"). Here we have the older heriot and the later relief, two things so distinct and yet having so much in common, side by side.[2] The differences between the two come out strongly. In the case of the knightly tenant the actual feudal word "relevatio" is used; the payment is the composition for a fresh grant of the land by the lord. The bishop's prede-

[1] See the story of his stopping to sing nones before he goes to make answer before the king and the archbishop. Will. Malms. Gest. Pont. 284.

[2] See Norman Conquest, vol. v., p. 373–379.

cessors had done by their feudal tenants according to the order prescribed in the charter of Henry I.[1] The sum to be paid by the relief is fixed by custom. In the other case, evidently that of a poor peasant, the feudal word is not used; the payment is that of the ancient heriot, a due owing to the lord, but which does not imply any break in the possession of the land. But while Giraldus in the other case freely uses the Latin and feudal term, he cannot bring his classical pen to write so barbarous a word as *heriot;* he therefore describes the nature of the payment without naming it. Both stories give us a curious picture in the contrast between the somewhat lavish liberality of the bishop and the worldly wisdom of his steward. The bishop in both cases gives back his dues, saying that it was unjust that a man should be made to suffer the further loss of his beast or his money just at the time when he has lost his father. The practical hardship of the law is brought out in both cases, especially in that of the poor widow with her children. They had had, St. Hugh argues, two who worked for them, their father and his ox. Of these fellow labourers they have lost one in their father; it would be hard if they were to lose the other, the ox also. In the case of the knight's son the bishop's argument is less clear. The heir had lost his father, but he had inherited his father's estate. The hardship, if any, consisted in the demand of a payment before he could have received anything from the fruits of the estate. But the answer of the steward is, after all, the answer of common sense. If the bishop gives up all the payments which are due from his lands, he will soon lose his lands altogether. A political economist would perhaps try to reconcile the two arguments by enlarging

[1] Select Charters, p. 97. "Similiter et homines baronum meorum "justa et legitima relevatione "relevabunt terras suas de dominis suis."

on the advantages to both landlord and tenant of a fixed and fair yearly rent, as contrasted with uncertain and fluctuating payments, by which the tenant often suffered occasional hardships, while the landlord failed to get the fair value of his land. The saint's answer to his steward reads like a satire on the feudal livery of seisin. He gets down from his horse—it will be noticed how large a number of these stories happen while the bishop is riding hither and thither—and fills his hands with mud, saying that he knows both how to keep his land and to give back the ox to the poor widow. The notion is the same as that which comes out in the famous story of the Conqueror taking seizin of the soil of England by his accidental fall on his landing.

Notices of natural history.

St. Hugh's love .for animals, a character which he shares with a good many other saints, comes out more strongly in Giraldus' account of him than in any other. Giraldus, it must be remembered, was clearly something of a naturalist, as well as a philologer. He therefore gives us some stories of this kind, which are not found elsewhere. Besides his tame swan, whose story is well known, Giraldus describes Hugh as making friends with the birds and squirrels while he was still at the Chartreuse. At Witham he has a pet bird, called by Giraldus "burneta," a name which Mr. Dimock failed to explain, and I am still less able to do so. In the tenth chapter of the first *Distinctio*, where he tells the story of the swan, Giraldus adds a parallel case, how at Thornholm in Lincolnshire the tit-mice were so tame that they used to come and sit on the heads and shoulders of the canons, asking for food. Every reader of Giraldus' Welsh and Irish books knows that he always remarked anything singular in the animal world, though certainly his zoological studies, like his other studies, would have been the better for a somewhat more frequent use of those critical faculties which he did use now and then.

Infra, pp. 91, 92.

Infra, p. 93.

Notices of architectural style.

But, besides philology and natural history, Giraldus, the universal scholar of his age, did not fail to notice the advancing art of his time, and to mark clearly the changes in architecture which were introduced by St. Hugh, or rather by his architect Geoffrey of Noyers.[1] His description of the building of Lincoln minster is one of several passages in mediæval writers which show how much men were struck by the architectural changes which went on in their several generations. Our earliest writers have recorded the introduction of the primitive Romanesque style, the "mos Romanus," from Italy. William of Malmesbury noted how Eadward the Confessor brought in the later style of Romanesque which had grown up in Normandy. Matthew Paris, in quoting his words, did not fail to alter them so as to mark the fact that a change had taken place between William's day and his own, and that the style which was still new when William wrote had gone out of use before he wrote himself.[2] So, of the two Waltham writers, the earlier notices that Harold's church had arches; the later, writing after pointed forms had come into use, thinks it necessary to mention that they were round arches.[3] So Giraldus, in noticing the rebuilding of Lincoln minster which was begun by St. Hugh, notices in a marked way the change of style which had taken place since the days of Remigius. Remigius had built well according

[1] See Magna Vita, 336, and Mr. Dimock's note, p. 412.

[2] The famous passage of William of Malmesbury, ii. 228, where he mentions the new style introduced by Edward, as being still imitated in his time, "quod nunc pene "cuncti sumptuosi æmulantur ex- "pensis" is changed by Matthew Paris in "æmulabantur." So at least it stands in the old edition of Wats, p. 2; but I see that in Mr. Luard's edition of the Chronica Majora, i., 535, the word remains "æmulantur."

[3] Vita Haroldi, Chroniques Anglo-Normandes, ii., 161, "pa- "rietes arcuum aut testudinum "*emicidiis* mutuo fœderantur." For the meaningless "emicidiis" we may adopt the sure emendation of Mr. James Parker "emicicliis," that is "hemicycliis," semi-circular arches.

to the fashion of his own age; Hugh brought in all the improvements of modern art.[1] It is singular however that he does not mention the change from the round to the pointed arch. The thing which seems to have struck Giraldus most was the introduction of marble columns of various colours. It is the same with the author of the Metrical Life. He also is eloquent on the subject of the marble columns; he is eloquent too on the subject of the vaulted roof; but he too does not directly mention the change in the form of the arches.[2] The like is the case in the famous comparison drawn by Gervase between the older and the newer work in the choir at Canterbury. Again the marble columns are emphatically spoken of, but there is no mention of the change in the form of the arches.[3] The truth perhaps is that the pointed arch came so gradually into use, it spread so stealthily from one part of the building to another, that men may well have failed to note how great a change was implied in its introduction. This would specially be the case with

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[1] P. 97. "Ecclesiam a . . . "Remigio juxta morem temporis "illius egregie constructam, quati- "nus modernæ novitatis artificio "magis exquisito, longeque sub- "tilius et ingeniosius expolito, "fabricam conformem efficeret, ex "Pariis lapidibus, marmoreisque "columnellis, alternatim et con- "grue dispositis, et tanquam "picturis variis, albo nigroque, "naturali tamen colorem varietate "distinctis, incomparabiliter, sicut "nunc cerni potest, erigere curavit "eximiam."

[2] Vv. 872–883.

"Altera fulcit opus lapidum
"pretiosa nigrorum
"Materies, non sic uno contenta
"colore,
"Non tot laxa poris, sed crebro
"sidere fulgens
* * * *
"Inspectus lapis iste potest sus-
"pendere mentes,
"Ambiguas utrum jaspis mar-
"morve sit; at si
"Jaspis, hebes jaspis; si mar-
"mor, nobile marmor.
"Inde columnellæ quæ sic
"cinxere columnas
"Ut videantur ibi quamdam
"celebrare choream."

A pillar surrounded by detailed shafts could not be better described.

[3] Gervase (X. Scrippt. 1298) mentions the marble columns more than once, and when he comes formally to compare the old and new work (1302), he says pointedly "Ibi columpna nulla marmorea, "hic innumeræ."

those who, like Gervase and Giraldus, wrote during the actual period of transition. In the course of their lives the pointed arch spread itself from the vault to the pier-arches, from the pier-arches to the windows and ornamental arcades. But the first stages of the process brought with it no change in the accustomed forms of ornament. These writers marked the difference between the work of Conrad and the work of the two Williams, between the work of Remigius and the work of Hugh, but the change which went on under their eyes was so gradual that they perhaps failed to notice that great change in constructive forms which really formed the essential difference between the two styles. The Waltham biographer writing, it would seem, about the same time as Giraldus, but belonging perhaps to a later generation, was better able to grasp the fact that the essential difference between the two styles was marked by the change in the form of the great constructive arches of the building.

Miraculous narratives.

A great part of this biography by Giraldus, as well as of the other biographies of the saint, is of course taken up with the record of various miracles, chiefly miracles of the saint himself, and wrought, for the most part, at his tomb after his death. It must be remembered that Hugh himself, in an age where miracles were looked for as a matter of course, attached but little value to any works of the kind, and had no belief whatever in his own power to work them. On the general nature of narratives of this kind I will not here enlarge ; I would rather refer to the full and philosophical examination of the whole subject which is given by Professor Stubbs in his Introduction to the De Inventione,[1] and in the Preface to Roger of Howden, vol. iv., p. ix. But we must always remember two things. In an age when a certain

[1] De Inventione, p. xxvii. Roger of Howden, vol. iv., p. ix.

phænomenon is looked for, that phænomenon is sure to be found. An age which expects miracles is sure to find miracles, as an age which believes in witches is sure to find witches. That is to say, there will in most cases be a certain number of instances of real imposture; but there will also be a number, most likely a much greater number, of instances in which men predisposed to expect miracles will in perfect good faith see miraculous agency in cases where a less credulous age will see only natural causes. It should be noticed too that a hard-headed and experienced court official like Roger of Howden, a critical and indeed sceptical balancer of historical evidence like William of Newburgh, were fully as credulous in these matters as the somewhat flighty and enthusiastic Giraldus. One thing is plain; miracles were not accepted in those days without a certain amount of examination and testing of evidence. Giraldus wrote before the more solemn examination into Hugh's miraculous powers which was held by order of Pope Honorius the Third when the petition was made for his canonization. This examination was held by a commission in which the abbot of Fountains was joined with the archbishop of Canterbury, and that archbishop Stephen Langton.[1] The examinations of which Giraldus speaks are all local, held by the dean and chapter or other officers of the church of Lincoln. He implies that no miracles were wrought by Hugh in his lifetime; for he looks on the special honour which befell him at his burial as the first miracle wrought by him, and as a special reward of the care which he had himself bestowed on the burial of others.[2] Then follow various

Infra, p. 186.

[1] The bulls of Honorius about the examination and canonization are printed by Mr. Dimock in Appendix I., pp. 243 et seqq. See also the Legenda in Appendix D., p. 186.

[2] P. 117. "Ejus exsequiis qui "ceterorum exsequias tantopere "curabat tantum honorem dedit "Deus; et qui sepeliendis corpori-"bus tanquam Tobias alter tam "infatigabili studio opus et operam

miracles, some of them wrought very soon after the saint's death. One of them, in the fourth chapter of the second *Distinctio*, connects itself with the account given by Roger of Howden of the preaching of Eustace abbot of Flay. That missionary prelate enforced the better observance of Sunday, including the latter part of Saturday. Roger of Howden, it will be remembered, records several astounding miracles which accompanied his preaching. So we find here that Alice of Keal, who persisted in working on Saturday evening, notwithstanding the abbot's preaching, had both her hands contracted as a punishment. In this case the rural dean and the archdeacon,—the former appears under the odd title of "decanus plebanus,"—at once believe; but the sub-dean of Lincoln, in the discharge of his office as penitentiary, puts no faith in the story. Alice goes to Canterbury to St. Thomas, and is thence sent back to St. Hugh. And on coming back to Lincoln she is at last cured, first in one hand and then in the other, during a mass sung by the very same sub-dean William who had at first refused to believe her story. It is worth noting that, among the stories which Giraldus has got together to prove the sanctity of Remigius, there is also one in which St. Thomas of Canterbury interferes for the benefit of a blind woman, seemingly not far from Lincoln, but without laying on her the burthen of a journey into Kent. He bids her go for healing to the tomb of Remigius; "hunc enim mihi socium in Anglia dedit Deus." There is another story in the next chapter, in which a dropsical woman of Beverley first prays in vain at the

See Glossary, *infra*, p. 258.

Infra, p. 28.

"impendebat, ipsum quoque sepeliri tam magnifice voluit, tamquam non animæ solum victoriosæ in cœlis, verum etiam corpori gloriosæ in terris tam piæ devotionis mercede soluta; totum revera pro grandi miraculo est reputandum, et inter signa insignia quasi primum et præcipuum hoc admirandum et annotandum."

tomb of St. Hugh, and then thinks of going to Canterbury to St. Thomas, but gets cured at Lincoln instead. In this case the miracle is examined and certified by the two chapters of Lincoln and Beverley. In some cases, that of the knight John Burdet for one, the cure is gradual. This may suggest that the story is true as a relation of facts, but that men full of the notions of the time looked on a natural recovery as wrought by the power of the saint. Certainly, in the second of these two cases, the means of cure are the very strangest. Mortar from Hugh's tomb is applied to the wounds of a man suffering from cancer, and from that time he begins to mend.[1] Nor do we fail to find in the case of St. Hugh, as in the case of other saints,[2] the stock story of the man who doubts or disbelieves in the saint's sanctity, but is brought to a better mind by some vision or miracle. In this case the sceptic is a member of the church of Lincoln, described as the sub-dean Philip, a person whom Mr. Dimock has failed to identify. He had, strange to say, doubted as to St. Hugh's sanctity, which we may perhaps charitably understand of a mere doubt as to his miraculous powers. A vision which he saw taught him better, and from that time he diligently preached the merits of the saint.[3]

Infra, p. 130.

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[1] P. 138. (Cf. 141.) He offers a wax image of his paralysed arm at St. Hugh's tomb. "Et sic, cum "aliquot diebus ibidem victitans "circa tumbam et pernoctaus, "lacrimosis precibus gratiam sacri "pontificis pro sanitate recuper- "anda suppliciter exorasset, pau- "latim couvalescere cœpit; et infra "breve temporis spatium plenæ "sanitatis gaudia recuperavit."

[2] I have had myself to deal with several of these stories, as the vengeance taken on Cnut by St. Edith of Wilton (Norman Conquest, i., 434), and the reformation of the Norman monk who did not believe in Waltheof (iv., 600). I have also (iv. 520) had to speak of a wilder story about St. Cuthberht and the Conqueror himself.

[3] P. 130. "Post hanc visionem, "sanctitatis ipsius publicus præ- "dicator effectus est et assertor."

§ 7. The Profession of Remigius to Lanfranc.

First in the collection of pieces which form Mr. Dimock's Appendix comes a document of special interest for the history of the early years of the Conqueror, and which I myself ventured to quote, perhaps somewhat prematurely, in writing the history of those years.[1] This is the document which proves that at least one bishop was consecrated after the Conquest by the supposed schismatic primate Stigand. The doubts as to Stigand's canonical position had been so prevalent that he seems to have consecrated only two bishops even during the reign of Eadward,[2] and the fact that Remigius was consecrated by Stigand is not mentioned elsewhere. We may believe that it was a fact which neither Remigius nor the other churchmen of his time were anxious to keep in mind. But we have it here stated, on the very best of all authorities, that of Remigius himself in his profession to Lanfranc. The document must be compared with the contemporary profession of St. Wulfstan to Lanfranc. The cases of the two prelates differed so far as this, that Wulfstan had only made profession to Stigand, but had taken care to be consecrated by Ealdred archbishop of York.[3] The matter of the two documents is very nearly the same, but the exact words hardly ever agree. Both assert in strong and even violent language the uncanonical position of Stigand; both, utterly against the truth of history, charge Stigand with having by force or fraud driven his Norman predecessor Robert from his see. It is hardly needful to prove that, if Stigand had any hand in the deprivation and punishment of Robert, it was simply by giving his voice, like any other

Remigius consecrated by Stigand.

The profession compared with that of St. Wulfstan.

[1] Norman Conquest, iv. 132.
[2] Ib. ii. 433.
[3] Ib. ii., pp. 463, 634.

Englishman in the assembly by which that deprivation and banishment were decreed.[1] Both enlarge on the crime of Stigand in using the *pallium* which Robert had left behind him. Both also enlarge on the various decrees put forth against Stigand by successive popes. But the actual words and the order of the statements differ most remarkably, and it may be noticed that, in the version which is put into the mouth of English Wulfstan, the name of the Norman Robert is not found. The words in Wulfstan's profession are—

"Sanctam Dorobernensem ecclesiam, cui omnes ante-
" cessores meos constat fuisse subjectos, Stigandus
" jampridem invaserat, metropolitanum ejusdem sedis
" vi et dolo expulerat, usumque pallii quod ei ab-
" stulit contempta apostolicæ sedis auctoritate temerare
" præsumpserat."

The profession of Remigius is fuller:

"Cum enim, contempta Helmeanensis ecclesiæ medio-
" critate, translatus esset [Stigandus] ad Wentanæ civi-
" tatis episcopum, stimulante ad hoc majoris honoris
" ambitu, post paucos annos Robertum archiepiscopum
" partim vi partim insidiis expulit, metropolem invasit,
" pallium quod a sede apostolica ipse detulerat cum
" ceteris ablatum usurpare non metuit."

"Ipse" here means Robert, not Stigand. The return of Robert from Rome with his pallium is recorded in the Peterborough Chronicle, 1048[2] (1051), while the pallium which was afterwards sent to Stigand by Benedict X. in 1058 was merely sent,[3] and that most likely by the hands of Earl Harold. Towards the end, the matter of the two professions becomes quite different, as well as the language; for Remigius had, what Wulfstan had not, to account for his having committed

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[1] Ib. ii., pp. 334, 339.
[2] Ib. ii. 120.
[3] See the Chronicles for that year, and Norman Conquest, ii. 432.

the error of receiving consecration from the schismatic. His account of his own state of mind is singular: " Ego " hujus negotii me ex toto ignarus, nec usquequaque " gnarus, ordinandus ad eum veni." This sounds rather lame; but one can hardly doubt that, as it was William's policy to show all favour to Stigand till everything was ready for his disgrace, he allowed or commanded Remigius to seek consecration at the hands of Stigand as part of that policy. The rest of the story is commented on by Mr. Dimock in his note on the text. *Infra*, p. 152.

Geographical description of bishoprics.

Another point to be noted in this profession is the way in which Remigius describes himself. He is " Dorcacensis, et Legoracensis, et " Lincolniensis provinciæ, ceterarumque " provinciarum quibus antecessores mei præfuerunt " electus antistes." Here is a trace of the old way of of describing a bishop by the lands which make up his diocese. Thus, in the Peterborough Chronicle, 1038, we read that, " Living ƀ. feng to Wigraceasterscire " and to Gleaweceastrescire." This simply marks the diocese of Worcester as taking in those two shires. The formula therefore differs from that in the Worcester Chronicle, 1047, where it is said of the same Lyfing, " he hæfde iii. ƀ. rice, an on Defenascire and on Corn- " walon and on Wigracestre." Here it is not the geographical extent of a diocese, but the union of three bishoprics under one bishop, which is pointed out. But in 1078 we get something like the same formula, while it is said of Hermann, " se wæs ƀ. on Bearrucscire and on " Wiltunscire and on Dorsætan." In this case, though Dorset, the diocese of Sherborne, was a new addition, yet Berkshire and Wiltshire had always formed a single diocese. As far as those shires are concerned, it is simply a territorial description. One might infer that at this time Remigius had not yet formed the scheme of translating the see to Lincoln; otherwise he would surely have mentioned Lindesey as

The description given of Hermann.

one of the "provinces" of his diocese. It must also be remembered that the claim of the bishops of Dorchester to the jurisdiction of Lindesey was disputed, and the record copied both by Giraldus and by John of Schalby goes so far as to speak of the decision given in favour of Lincoln against York, as an enlargement of the diocese of Lincoln and of the province of Canterbury. The language used is much the same as if it had been a conquest by a temporal prince. (" Lindiseiam terramque " totam inter Widhemam scilicet Lincolniæ fluvium et " Humbriam diocesi suæ provinciæque Cantuariensi viri- " liter adjecit.") We must remember that, according to William of Malmesbury, Remigius, in the first years of his episcopate, designed and began works at Dorchester[1]. We may note also that, if "province" is meant to answer to "pages" or "shire," "Dorcacensis provincia" is hardly a correct description of Oxfordshire only.[2] It is more likely that he has in his mind the ancient *diocese* of Leicester. Florence of Worcester (ii., 242) reckons up the predecessors of Remigius down to Wulfwig as Bishops of Leicester. In this case, "cæteræ provinciæ " quibus antecessores mei præfuerunt," might be a dark way of hinting at Lindesey.

Infra, p. 19, and note.

§ 8. The Lives and Obituary of the Twelfth Century.

Connexion of this Obituary with Domesday.

Mr. Dimock has here printed a document which is for my own purposes of singular interest. It closely connects itself with the entries in Domesday about the city of Lincoln, and with several points of genealogy whose value is more than merely local or genealogical. We here find entries

[1] Will. Malms. Gest. Pont. 312. " Ille primis annis egregia apud " Dorcestram meditatus, et aliqua " facere ingressus."

[2] Chron. Ab. 1049. " Eadnoð se " goda biscop on Oxnafordscire."

containing the names of various persons whom Domesday has taught us to know; and it gives us in a certain sense the dates of their deaths. Unluckily it gives us only that which was alone important in the eyes of those who drew up the list of obits, namely the days of the month on which they died. We should gladly have exchanged the days of the months for the date of the year. It is much the same with many early Christian epitaphs, which are satisfied with telling us how many years the deceased person lived, while, if they had told us the consuls for the year of his birth or death, much light would often have been thrown on many matters. The very first entry introduces us to a man of first-rate importance in the local history of Lincoln, and moroever in the history of English architecture. This is "Colsuanus," that is, Coleswegen, the founder of the lower town of Lincoln and its churches. I collected all that I then knew about him when speaking of William's dealings with Lincoln, of Coleswegen's architectural works, and of the notices which we have of his family connexions. But I had not then noticed the charters referred to by Mr. Dimock in his note on page 153; from which it appears that he had a son Picot. But we need not infer that he was the father of the wicked sheriff Picot of Cambridgeshire; for the name, whatever was its origin, was in use as a surname or nickname. Under April 24 we find the obit of "Ansfridus qui cognominatur Picotus;" and in the Pipe Roll of Henry I., p. 112, we find "Rogerus Picotus." This Ansfrid is most likely the Ansfrid who appears in Domesday (345. b.) as a tenant of the church of Peterborough in Lincolnshire, in company with Colegrim and with Coleswegen himself. The entry of Coleswegen's obit on January 8th calls him "Colsuanus pater Picoti." Under March 7 we have the obit of "Beatrix uxor Picoti." We thus find the son and the daughter-in-law of the exceptionally prosperous Englishman bearing Norman or other

Coleswegen and his connexions.

foreign names. Now this is a step on the road to the various notices which connect Coleswegen with the Countess Lucy and other great personages. Further, in order to explain some points of the genealogy, I ventured on the conjecture that Coleswegen was the son of Ælfred of Lincoln; and further that Ælfred married a foreign wife, whether she was the mother of Coleswegen or not. Now, in this obituary under February the 10th, we find "Margareta uxor Alueredi," which looks rather as if my guess had something to be said for it. Ælfred of Lincoln had a son Robert (Ord. Vit. 917), and in this obituary, April 15, we have "Galfridus filius Alueredi." Another lately published document, the Inquisitio Cantabrigiensis, gives us (pp. 51, 98) another son of Coleswegen, who bears the English name "Ailmarus" or "Ælmer," that is Æthelmær. This mixture of Norman and English names in the family of an Englishman who had Norman connexions and who kept his lands under William should be carefully noticed.

Notices of the Lincoln lawmen.

This obituary contains a crowd of other names, of some of which we know the bearers, while others help in various ways to illustrate the history of nomenclature. Domesday gives us the names of the lawmen at Lincoln, as they stood at the time of the Survey, as they had stood in the time of King Eadward. Some of them we meet again in the obituary. We are tempted to identify the lawman Godwine who had succeeded his father Brihtric with the Godwine who is commemorated on October the 18th. Ulf appears as a lawman T.R.E.; but he died before the Survey, and was succeeded by his son Swartbrand, whose large estates are entered in Domesday. He may be either the Ulf who was commemorated on January the 29th, or the one who was commemorated on February 26th. "Siwardus presbyter" one of the clerical lawmen T.R.E., seems to have died before the survey, as he was succeeded in his office by Wulfnoth. If we knew the

years as well as the months, we could tell whether he is the same as either of the persons described as Siwardus "canonicus et sacerdos," who appear on July 3 and September 12. The priest Leofwine, who had become a monk and who was thus civilly dead, was succeeded as lawman by his son, who appears in Domesday as "Buruolt," meaning most likely some such name as Burhwold. The wife of Leofwine and mother of Burhwold may be the "Demilt uxor Lewine" whose obit is on July 30. And one suspects that "Ediva," who appears without further description on February 11, was the mother of the lawman "Godric filius Eddeve." This Godric must be a different person from "Godricus clericus" whose obit is on September 30. Other names strike in one way or another in looking through the list.

Illustrations of nomenclature.

"Moyses clericus," on January 18, must have stood all but alone in the enjoyment of his Hebrew name. It is found only once in Domesday (88 b.), as borne by a tenant of Geoffrey bishop of Coutances in Somerset. On January 19 we find the Danish name "Hakon," one bearer of which appears in the Lincolnshire Domesday (362 B.), described as "homo Radulfi Pagenel." The same day we have "Guenilda [Cwenhild] uxor Martelli"—the Norman with an English wife—and the next day "Aeliz uxor Normanni,"—the Englishman with a Norman wife. There is a "Normannus Crassus" in Lindesey, in Domesday 366, 376, who was a lawman at the time of the Survey, and another "Norman filius Siwardi presbyteri" in 336. The same day we get two persons, one of them a clerk, bearing that Welsh or Breton name which appears in so many forms, but which is here spelt "Johel." There are several persons of the name in Domesday, but none in Lincolnshire. January 31, we have "Ada mater Alexandri episcopi;" the name of his father does not appear. Possibly he was sister's and not brother's son to his uncle Roger of Salisbury. On February 12 we have

"Quenil, uxor Willelmi filii Ag." It is curious to find two women bearing this grand but rare English name, both married to Norman husbands. March 25, we have "Outhild soror nostra," and the next day "Goda soror nostra." These two women must have entered into some spiritual relation with the chapter. The name Outhild I do not remember to have seen elsewhere; but it at once connects itself with "Outi," who appears on May 29 as "Outi filius Unni." An Outi appears many times in Domesday. He had lost most of his land at the time of the Survey, when it appears that he had come to be a man of archbishop Thomas of York, and that some of his lands had passed to Coleswegen. On August 2 we find the strange entry of "Rompharus filius Outi"; in Domesday (336) Outi, or another of the same name, has a son Tokig. There is a curious notice: "Hæc non sunt in numero alicujus hundret, neque ha-" bent pares in Lincole scire;" I can say nothing as to the nationality of "Ajax canonicus et sacerdos," who appears on June 7. "Sileva," on June 29, would seem to be an English name ending in *gifu*, but I cannot further identify it. "Merewen soror nostra" on July 26, and "Lewen" (Leofwyn) on August 15, are rare female names, the latter being cognate with the well-known male name "Leofwine." "Tova," on September 15, is again a rare female name, connecting itself with "Tofig." "Robertus de Cundi," on October 10, appears in the Pipe Roll of Henry I. (67, 111), as "Robertus de Cunda." On October 20, "Willelmus filius Haconis," on whom Mr. Dimock has a note, is one of the many instances of the father bearing an English and the son a Norman name. On November 14, "Aluercdus filius Radulfi filii" Dorandi" is an instance the other way: only we must remember that Ælfred was one of the two or three English names which were rather affected by the Normans. Colegrim, on April 1, has a considerable place in Domesday; Ougrim, on December 13, I can identify with

nobody, either personally or by name, except Oudgrim, who appear in Domesday 284 as a tenant of Roger of Busli in Nottinghamshire. Lastly, on August 9 was kept the obit of "Alviva uxor Eilsi," a pair bearing good English names, Ælfgifu and Æthelsige. I do not however find any man of that name in the Lincolnshire Domesday.

§ 9. Other Pieces in the Appendix.

The list of books.

A bibliographer would doubtless find something to comment on in the list of books which Mr. Dimock here prints. Nothing strikes me, except that there does not seem to be a single English book, nor any book at all bearing on English history, except Giraldus' gift of some of his own writings, and possibly the "Septem volumina Magistri Radulfi Nigri." They had a book of their own charters, which would of course incidentally contain historical matter; but it was hardly there in the character of an historical work. Yet the chapter of Lincoln should surely have possessed the writings of so distinguished a member of their own body as Henry of Huntingdon.

The Legenda of St. Hugh.

The *Legenda* which follow contain little or no historical matter, and Mr. Dimock has carefully compared the miraculous narratives which it contains with the other versions of the same stories.

John of Schalby's Lives of the Bishops.

But the lives of the bishops of Lincoln, which bear the name of John of Schalby, illustrate many curious points in the history of the church of Lincoln and of other cathedral foundations. Mr. Dimock has explained the relation in which these lives stand to those of Giraldus. Their agreement, often a verbal agreement, as long as they cover the same ground, is due to both writers having copied from a contemporary Lincoln record. As long as the two stand side by side, I shall only comment on any points which, either because they are not mentioned by

Supra, xv. xvi.

Giraldus or from any other cause, Mr. Dimock has not enlarged.

The record begins with Remigius. As Mr. Dimock remarks, the text of the first sentence of this life must be corrupt. But we see in this text the original ground-work out of which the Life by Giraldus was developed. Mr. Dimock remarks how Giraldus has got rid of the amusing way in which the biographer delicately hints at the relations between the Duke of the Normans and the Almoner of Fecamp, "qui *ob certam causam* venerat cum eodem in "episcopum Dorkecestrensem." The biographer looks on Remigius as a saint, at least one "carus Deo," as was proved by the miracles which followed his death. Like Giraldus, he looks on Lindesey as a district won by Remigius for his diocese and the province of which he was a member; "totam Lyndeseyam suæ diocesi et provinciæ "Cantuariensi conjunxit." It must be remembered that Paullinus, the apostle of York, was also the apostle of Lindesey, and that he built a church on the hill, of which the present St. Paul is said to preserve the memory in a corrupted form of its dedication.[1] At a later time again Lindesey was actually annexed to the north-east kingdom, a revolution which transferred it, at least for the time, to the jurisdiction of York.[2]

Supra, xx.

The minster and the church of St. Mary Magdalen.

A very interesting piece of local history is here preserved with regard to the relations between the minster and the parish church, which is supplanted. The existence of an earlier church on the site of the minster appears from the words of Domesday (336), "Sancta "Maria de Lincolia in qua nunc est episcopatus." This is the church of St. Mary Magdalen, of whose history our local biographer has much to tell us. This church

[1] Bada, ii. 16.

[2] See Bæda, iv. 12, where Ecgfrith of Northumberland conquers Lindesey and sets up a bishopric of his own.

shared one of the twelve carucates of land which the citizens of Lincoln held outside the city,[1] with another neighbouring church, that of All Saints, of which we also hear later in the course of the story. With regard to this last church, Domesday records a singular controversy. The church and the land belonging to it had been held—as patron or as priest?—by Godric son of Garewine. Godric had become a monk, seemingly at Peterborough, and the abbot had taken possession of the church. That is, Godric having become a monk, and being therefore civilly dead, made over his ecclesiastical property to the abbey, just as the lawman who became a monk was succeeded in his hereditary office by his son.[2] But the men of Lincoln held it as one of their local rights that no man might leave his property out of the city, or indeed out of his own kindred, without the King's leave. The lawfulness of Godric's gift to the abbey was therefore disputed, and the church was claimed by his kinsman the priest Earnwine, a man whose somewhat puzzling fortunes come in for mention in many places in Domesday.[3]

History of All Saints Church.

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[1] Domesday 336. "In campis "Lincoliæ extra civitatem sunt "xii carucatæ terræ et dimidia, "præter carucatam episcopi civita- "tis. De hac terra habent rex et "comes viii carucatas in dominio." Present and past owners of the other carucates are then mentioned; and we read "quartam carucatam "adjacuit in ecclesia omnium "sanctorum T.R.E. et xii. toftes et "iv. croftes . . Residuam dimidiam "carucatam terræ habuit et habet "Sancta Maria de Lincolia in qua "nunc est episcopatus."

[2] Of the land belonging to All Saints, the survey goes on to say; "Hanc ecclesiam et terram ec- "clesiæ et quicquid ad eam pertinet "habuit Godricus filius Garcuinæ. "Sed eo facto monacho abbas de "Burg obtinet. Burgenses vero "omnes Lincoliæ dicunt quod in- "juste habet, quia nec Garcuin nec "Godricus filius ejus nec ullus "alius dare potuerunt extra civi- "tatem nec extra parentes eorum, "nisi concessu regis. Hanc eccle- "siam et quod ibi pertinet clamat "Ernuin presbyter hæreditate "Godrici consanguinei sui." I have quoted this in Norman Conquest, iv. 209.

[3] Notices of the priest Earnwine, some of them very curious, will be found in Domesday in Nottinghamshire, Yorkshire, Lincolnshire, Bedfordshire, pp. 210, 211, 293, 331, 336, 336*b*, 371, 374, 376.

Witness to the state of Lincoln after the Conquest.

The whole story, like the whole Domesday account of Lincoln, shows how old laws, old rights, old claims, went on untouched by William's coming, especially in districts like Lincoln and Lincolnshire, on which confiscation fell much less heavily than on other parts. Remigius is specially recorded to have paid honestly for the site of his new buildings.[1] The rights of the parishioners of St. Mary Magdalen, whose church now grew into the minster, were respected. John of Schalby preserves the most interesting fact that the nave of the minster, or part of it, remained the parish church of St. Mary Magdalen.[2] That is to say, Lincoln minster was from the beginning a *double church*. It was like those many examples of monastic and collegiate churches in which the western part belonged to the parish, while the eastern part belonged to the monastery or college. Such were Waltham, Bridlington, Wymondham, Fotheringhay, and a crowd of others, specially Dunster and Ewenny, where the ancient arrangement remained untouched to our own time.[3] The

Original division of the minster.

[1] This appears from the words of Henry of Huntingdon, Scrippt. p. Bæd. 213; "mercatis prædiis "construxit ecclesiam."

[2] P. 194. "In loco autem in "quo ecclesia beatæ Mariæ Mag- "dalenæ in ballio Lincolniensi sita "erat, dictus Remigius erexit "suam ecclesiam cathedralem. Et "in certo loco ipsius ecclesiæ "cathedralis, parochiani dictæ "ecclesiæ beatæ Mariæ Magdalenæ "divina obsequia audierunt, ac in "fonte cathedralis ecclesiæ eorum "parvuli baptizati fuerunt, et in "ipsius cœmeterio corpora paro- "chianorum in obitu sepulturæ "tradita exstiterunt." In p. 209, the words are "a fundatione "ecclesiæ cathedralis in occidentali "parte ejusdem ecclesiæ divina "audierant." This leaves it open whether they had the whole nave or only part of it, and one would be curious to know whether their part was cut off by a solid screen, as was so often the case.

[3] In most of these cases the monastic part of the church was destroyed at the dissolution, while the parochial part went on as the parish church. At Dunster and Ewenny both parts remained perfect, though the monastic part was disused. These two churches therefore showed the ancient arrangement in its perfection. I know not how things may stand after a late "restoration" at Dunster.

arrangement is not exactly the same as the well known arrangement by which so many great German churches have a capitular choir at one end and a parochial choir at the other. But they are analogous ways of compassing the same object. But I do not know any other instance in a strictly English cathedral church, unless we reckon the modern case of Manchester.[1] We are not told how the several proprietary rights and duties of repair were settled between the chapter and the parish. But the biographer takes care to set forth most fully that the patronage and the ordinary jurisdiction of St. Mary Magdalen parish were in the chapter and not in the bishop; and he takes this occasion to assert those claims of the chapter over the prebendal churches which led to so much disputing in the days of Robert Grosseteste.[2] On these points one would like to have a statement from Remigius.

Nationality of the bishops.

It marks the twelfth century the time when the Norman settlers, violent and

[1] Of the four cathedral churches of Wales, three, St. Davids, Llandaff, and Bangor, are also parish churches. At Bangor some years ago the church was divided into two just after the ancient fashion in such cases, though the actual arrangements were modern. At St. Davids the parishioners formerly occupied the nave, and it is proposed to assign it to them again. But I believe that in none of these cases is there the same division of property between chapter and parish which existed when a church was divided between the parish and the monks. Manchester, since it has been raised to cathedral rank, is a nearer parallel to the state of things which Remigius brought about at Lincoln.

[2] The priest of St. Mary Magdalen (p. 195) was "presbyter de eccle-" sia cathedrali . . . ad hoc specia-" liter deputatus per decanum et " capitulum dictæ ecclesiæ cathe-" dralis." The record adds, "penes " quos proprietas jurisdictionis or-" dinariæ, sede vacante, de jure, et " sede plena ipsius exercitium in " ecclesia, et ipsius præbendis ac " ecclesiis de communa, de intro-" ducta consuetudine pertinebat. " Et iste presbiter per dictos deca-" num et capitulum, et non per " episcopum, curæ hujusmodi de-" putatus, jurisdictionem ordina-" riam super dictos parochianos ex " commissione capituli exercebat." The parish priest was, as in some other cases, the official of the ordinary of the peculiar; but one would like to know whether this sort of thing was really as old as Remigius.

peaceful, were gradually taking root in England and turning into Englishmen, that throughout this time the nationality of the several bishops is recorded in a way which is instructive. Of the second bishop of Lincoln, Robert Bluet—he is spelled in many ways—it is remarked that he, like Remigius, was "natione Normannus." One who was "natione Normannus" was pretty sure to be also "genere Normannus," while many a man of that day was "natione Anglicus" but "genere "Normannus." Bishop Alexander he described as "de "Normannia similiter oriundus." This is less clear; the nephew of bishop Roger was undoubtedly of Norman descent; but he might possibly have been born in England. Robert of Chesney was "natione Anglicus, "sed cognatione Normannus." Here we clearly get the son of Norman forefathers born in England. On the birth of king Henry's son Geoffrey it was not needful, nor altogether edifying, to enlarge; but in Walter of Coutances we have a further stage beyond that marked by Robert of Chesney. He is "Walterus de "Constantiis dictus, sed re vera de Cornubia natus." Here we not only have the man of Norman descent born in England, but the Norman place-name is passing from a personal description into a mere hereditary surname. Moreover the contemporary writer whom John of Schalby copied noted this fact as something new, just as the contemporaries of the first Earl of Shaftesbury noted the fact that he bore, what was then so rare, a double Christian name.[1] Hugh of Avalon was of course "de Burgundia natus;" as a man of the Empire, he stands altogether outside the relations of Normans and Englishmen. Then follow William of Blois (corruptly de *Bleynis*), and Hugh of Wells. By this time men had ceased to think about the Norman or English descent of any man. "Genere" William was clearly French, or whatever we call a man of Blois; "natione" he may

[1] Christie's Life of Shaftesbury, i. 5.

ave been Norman or English. Hugh of Wells, brother of Jocelyn, was English "natione," and pretty certainly "genere" also. But by this time the chroniclers had ceased to take notice of facts which were no longer of any importance.

We go back to Robert Bluet, whose character has been so zealously defended by Mr. Dimock against the scandals raised against him by William of Malmesbury. Of these the local chronicler makes no mention, and it is only quite incidentally that he brings in any evidence to the undoubted eminence of his own bishop in the general affairs of the kingdom.[1] He deals only with Robert's local acts and benefactions, his increase in the number of prebends, his translation of the monks of Stow [2] to Eynsham, and the gifts to the king with which he burthened his see. The final settlement of the territorial dispute as to the jurisdiction over Lindesey is carefully recorded. And, as the addition or confirmation of Lindesey to the diocese is spoken of as a kind of conquest, so the separation of Ely from Lincoln is spoken of, not as the relief of the bishop of Lincoln from part of his heavy duties, but much as a temporal prince might speak of a province which he had been driven to cede against his will.[3] It must never be forgotten in all these questions that jurisdiction implied revenue.

Supra, xxv.

[1] P. 196. The dispute between York and Lincoln was "sedata per "regem Willielmum secundum, "cujus cancellarius idem Robertus "fuerat."

[2] P. 195. "Monachos quoque de "Stowe usque ad Eynesham trans- "tulit, facta commutatione lauda- "bili, et ecclesiæ Lincolniensi ac- "commodata, propter manerii pro- "pinquitatem tam propter vicini- "tatem utilem præbendarum." The same story is told in a different spirit by William of Malmesbury (Gest. Pont. 313) in the omitted passage; "In cunctam religionem protervus, "monachos Stou summoveri et "apud Egnesham locari jussit. Gra- "tis malus et gloriæ antecessoris "invidens, a vicinis monachis sua "commoda præverti causabatur. "Quocirca, si monachi Egnesham- "nenses Dei dono pulchrum incre- "mentum acceperint, procul illi "gratias, quibus eximium se glori- "abatur commodum inferre si vel "illos sineret vivere."

[3] P. 196. "Sed hujus Roberti "tempore, per regiam voluntatem "et violentiam, Eliensis ecclesia "desiit esse Lincolniensis filia, et "facta est cathedralis."

Charters of Robert of Chesney. Relations between bishop and chapter.

Mr. Dimock has pointed out that the two charters which follow at pp. 196, 197, do not belong to Robert Bluet, but to Robert of Chesney. The difference is of some importance. The charters seem to imply a complete surrender of episcopal rights over the prebendal churches.[2] The later such a document is, the more likely it is to be genuine; but it was the natural tendency of those to whom such a document was convenient to put it as early as possible. Without any intentional fraud, such a charter, bearing the name of a bishop Robert, would, without much examination, be assigned to the earliest Robert on the list. We may notice the appearance of the archdeacons, like the sheriffs in temporal matters, in that character of "exactores" their dealings in which way made some doubt whether any archdeacon could be saved.[2] We may note also the phrase "universitas vestra" addressed to the archdeacons of Lincoln diocese, a somewhat numerous body, but who did not form a corporation apart from the rest of the chapter. So vague was the elder use of a word which has come to bear so special a meaning in modern times.

The chapter of Lincoln was founded by Remigius after the pattern of that of Rouen. The new privileges and exemptions now granted to the canons were to be the same as those which were enjoyed by the canons of Salisbury.[3] It would be well for some one who has the opportunity to compare the constitutions of the three churches.

Bishop Alexander, who plays so great a part in the history of the time, appears here only in his local character. There is only a short allusion to his castle building.[4]

[1] P. 196. "Noverit universitas "vestra nos remisisse omnibus "prebendis Lincolniensis ecclesiæ, "in perpetuum, omnia jura epi- "scopalia, et omnes exactiones."

[2] See John of Salisbury, Ep. clxvi. ap. Giles, i. 260.

[3] P. 197. "Eandem omnino "habeant canonici libertatem in "prebendis suis."

[4] P. 198. "Tria quoque erexit "castella in ecclesiæ suæ terris." Henry of Huntingdon (223) in describing the seizure of Alexander

Two of the three castles spoken of are Newark and Sleaford. His foundation at Dorchester is not mentioned; but his work in the minster, which, along with that of Remigius, may be seen in the west front, is duly entered. So also is the fact, on which Mr. Dimock has commented at length, that he was the first to vault any part of the main body of the church of Lincoln with stone.

Supra, xxx.

Robert of Chesney, Bishop, 1148–1156.

Robert of Chesney is no favourite; he alienated lands from the see, and gave them away in marriage with his nieces. It was almost worse when he alienated four churches and a prebend to the order of Sempringham, "in eccle-"siæ Lincolniensis læsionem perpetuam." Moreover he pledged his church—that is, as we find in the next entry, the ornaments of his church—to Aaron the Jew for three hundred pounds. This Aaron is a notable person in local history, and his name has made its way into the general history of England.[1] His house is still shown, one of the Romanesque remains in Lincoln, not the famous Jews' house, but another near the south gate of Lindum. On the other hand, bishop Robert acquired certain markets and fairs, which are noted as "perutiles," that is doubtless as bringing in valuable tolls, and certain other property for the advantage of the see.

Aaron the Jew.

The chronicler complains with reason, though in somewhat dark language, of the long holding of the episcopal property by the king after the death of Robert of Chesney.

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and his uncle Bishop Roger by king Stephen, speaks of these two castles "Rex inde rediens Alexan-"drum episcopum Lincoliensem, "quem dimiserat in captione apud "Oxinefordiam, duxit secum ad "Newercam. Ibique construxerat "episcopus super flumen Trente "in loco amænissimo vernantissi"mum florida compositione castel-"lum . . . Similiter redditum est "castellum aliud ejus, quod vocatur "Slaforde, neque forma neque situ "a prædicto secundum." He has a splendid panegyric on him in p. 219.

[1] Giraldus (De Instructione Principum, cap. 13) has a story of a knight of Lincolnshire who pledged his harness to him; and Benedict (ii. 5, ed. Stubbs) records the loss of his treasures at sea in 1187. He was then dead.

Geoffrey, bishop elect, 1173–1182.

The peculiar position of the next incumbent Geoffrey is also but darkly hinted at. It may be doubted whether any one would find out from this short narrative that he was not consecrated.[1] The chronicler enlarges on his benefactions to the church, and specially how he recovered, by payment of the money, the ornaments which were pledged to the Jew Aaron. Walter of Coutances comes in for a panegyric, but it is recorded as a sad blot on his short episcopate that he confirmed the alienations made by Robert of Chesney.[2]

For the general merits and good works of St. Hugh, the writer, fairly enough, refers to his Life, that is, as Mr. Dimock thinks, the Magna Vita. He specially records how St. Hugh delivered his church from the gift of a pall to the king, with which it had been burthened by Robert Bluet; also how he secured to his see the patronage of the monastery of Eynsham, which was likely to be lost. Two letters of the saint of some interest are added. The first is addressed to the archdeacons and their officials—they are again called "universitas vestra"—about the neglect of the faithful of the diocese of Lincoln to make their Pentecostal visit and offerings to the mother church. This, it is said, was usual in other dioceses, and its neglect at Lincoln is attributed to the neglect of the clergy rather than to any fault on the part of the laity. But a kind of half consciousness is shown that the vast size of the diocese might have something to do with the matter.[3] The arch-

Letters of St. Hugh.

Pentecostal offerings.

[1] See Mr. Dimock's remarks in p. xxix.

[2] P. 199. "In uno ecclesiam Lin- "colniensem graviter læsit, et "ejusdem capitulum in immensum "offendit, in gloria sua maculam "magnam ponens."

[3] P. 200. "Vos movere deberet "et non movemini, ad quos specia- "lius pertinet cura et solicitudo "ecclesiæ Lincolniensis, quod cum "tantam habeat filiorum multitu- "dinem, ipsi eam contemnunt."

deacons are exhorted to call on the (rural) deans, parsons, and other priests, to enforce on their parishioners the duty that some one from each house should appear at Pentecost, and make some fitting offering to the church of Lincoln.[1] The other letter is addressed to the dean and chapter, and strongly enforces the duty of every canon who does not keep residence himself to provide a vicar with a sufficient maintenance. His own prebend is to be impounded in case of neglect.[2] On the other hand, full power is given to the chapter to denounce ecclesiastical censures against any who should detain from them any part of their common goods;[3] no archdeacon, dean, or other officer of the bishop is to absolve any persons so censured by the chapter without the bishop's consent.

Residence of canons.

With the death of St. Hugh, we come to the end of Giraldus' contributions to the history of Lincoln. From this time we have the lives of the bishops only in the form in which they are preserved to us by John of Schalby. The record was evidently kept regularly, and a notice of each bishop was added, most likely at his death. We shall see that towards the end we get distinct notices of the personality of two of the biographers; it is hardly needless to say that none of these local chroniclers enter into the least rivalry with the eloquent archdeacon of St. Davids.

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[1] P. 200. "Ut saltem eam semel "in anno, secundum consuetudinem "ecclesiæ nostræ, quæ in aliis "ecclesiis episcopalibus celebris "habetur, eam in propria persona, "vel de suis facultatibus condignas "oblationes mittendo, negligant "visitares." These words would seem to imply that a personal visit, like the going up of the Israelites to Jerusalem, was at least the right thing. But such a duty was a somewhat heavy burthen upon the people of Eton or even of Oxford.

[2] P. 201. "Per detentionem pre-"bendæ suæ." Can this mean in the strictest sense his prebend, his prebendal church or other estate? Is it not rather his share in the daily distribution and other profits as a member of the general body?

[3] Ib. "Omnes injustos deten-"tores communæ vestræ, et omnes "qui vel hominibus vel possessioni-"bus, ad eandem communam per-"tinentibus, injuriam, molestiam, "vel gravamen intulerint."

The writer of the life which immediately follows that of St. Hugh shows a strong inclination to give the great saint another saint as his successor. After St.

William of Blois, bishop 1203–1206.

Hugh came William of Blois, whose body was found incorrupt a hundred years after his death. Here, for the only time in these Lives, we have a story given at some length which has nothing to do with Lincoln. It tells how the future bishop, when a student at Paris, preserved his chastity under great and singular temptations.[1]

Hugh of Wells, bishop 1209–1233.

Hugh of Wells, the next bishop, is at least as famous in the history of his native city as in that of the seat of his episcopate. He did some good works, as building a kitchen and finishing the hall begun by St. Hugh. His will, which Mr.

His will.

Infra, Appendix G.

Dimock has printed in this collection, is a more interesting document. The number of legacies to the hospital which he had himself founded at Wells, to religious houses, servants, poor kinsfolk, and various purposes connected with his own church, are many and various. He begins by bequeathing to his brother, the famous bishop Jocelyn of Wells,

Bequest of feudal profits.

certain of the feudal profits of his bishopric, for the benefit of the Wells hospital. These are the wardships and marriages of certain estates held of the see by military tenure, the heirs of which were now under age.[2] These were among

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[1] Compare the parallel story of St. Wulfstan in his Life by William of Malmesbury, Anglia Sacra, ii. 245. The merits of Wulfstan would seem to be the greater, as William of Blois, if not yet a bishop, was at least a student of theology, while Wulfstan's self-restraint was practised at a time when he was chiefly given to military exercises.

[2] The bequests are described (p. 223) as "custodia mea de Tunring "cum omnibus pertinentiis suis, ha-"benda et tenenda libere et quiete "donec heres ad legitimam pervene-"rit ætatem," and "custodia terræ "et heredum de Cromwell, quæ est "de feodo meo, et maritagia eorun-"dem heredum ubi non dispa-"ragentur," Bishop Jocelyn is to employ the revenues of the manor, "usque ad ætatem heredum ad "opus hospitalis Wellensis, et "sustentationem ipsius." All this

the feudal incidents which have been already spoken of, and which the charter of Henry I. was designed to make less oppressive, whether the land was held directly of the king or of a mesne lord. They were among the sources of income of which St. Hugh refused to take advantage. The wardship of course carried with it the whole profits of the estate till the heir came of age. The *Supra,* xii. right of marriage involved the power of choosing a husband or wife for the heir, and, in case of refusal, demanding the value of the marriage, that is, the sum which any one would give the guardian for the marriage of the heir. It shows how thoroughly the property of the Church had been feudalized, that these rights, the most galling of all feudal profits, were made the subject of a pious bequest. A less scrupulous prelate might have enriched himself personally by exacting them to his own profit; Hugh of Wells leaves them to his brother in trust for a charitable foundation. The bishop of Bath and Wells is to screw what he can out of certain tenants of the church of Lincoln for the advantage of the bishop of Lincoln's pensioners at Wells. It may seem rather strange that the bishop could leave these profits away from his successor. But the bequest involved no permanent alienation of any property or rights of the see. The wardship and marriage were windfalls which had come in to himself during his incumbency, and which it seems he could dispose of at pleasure. It was something like the archbishop's right of option which caused so many livings and cathedral offices to be disposed of by archbishops' widows. To the same institution at Wells he makes another conditional bequest, that of some lands which he must have bought as a private

is for Hugh's soul, for the souls of his parents, for the souls "omnium "antecessorum et heredum meo-"rum"—words which may take those who went before and those who are to come after him alike in his bishopric and in his temporal estate, and also for the soul of Jordanus de Turri, of whom Mr. Dimock has given us an account.

estate and which he had given in marriage with his niece, in case the niece died childless.[1] Then comes a long string of bequests in money to monasteries and to particular persons. Twenty marks are left to Robert of Wells, cook to the dean of Lincoln, who, if not a kinsman of the bishop, must have been a neighbour who had followed him from his birthplace. The bishop had poor kinsfolk at Wells and in the neighbouring village of Pilton; he leaves them sixty marks, to be distributed at the discretion of his brother, their own bishop, and his other executors.[2] Then come bequests of local interest. To the prebendary of Leicester, "canonico præbendæ Leycestre"—the form is worth noting—he leaves forty marks towards some buildings on which he was engaged. Bequests follow of money and timber to the fabric of the minster, of oxen [3] to his successor in the bishopric, of rings to the archbishop and every bishop of the province. A hundred marks are bequeathed for the expenses of his funeral and for the altar near his burial-place.[4] The site had therefore been already chosen, and the altar doubtless already set up. To that altar he also leaves "all his chapel," that is, the plate and furniture of the chapel, which was carried about from one manor to another, and which thus appears to have been the bishop's personal property. A curious exception is made; one little missal is to be sold, and the price is to be distributed to the poor for the soul of a deceased canon of Lincoln, Robert of Bristol.[5] Mr. Dimock tells us nothing

Small bequests.

Bequests for his funeral.

[1] P. 224. "Tota terra mea de "Derneford, quam dedi eum "Agatha nepte mea in maritagium, "nisi de corpore suo heredem "habuerit cui terra deberet re- "manere."

[2] P. 226. "Pauperibus parentibus "meis apud Well' et circa Pilton.

[3] "Lego successori meo xxvi "carucatas boum," see Mr. Dimock's explanation of this phrase in the Glossary.

[4] "Altare quod est juxta sepul- "turam meam."

[5] "Prædicto altari meo lego to- "tam capellam, excepto parvo

about Robert of Bristol; but, as Bristol and Wells lie near together as compared with Lincoln, we may suspect that Robert of Bristol was an old neighbour who had followed the fortunes of Hugh of Wells.

How the bequests were to be paid.

Towards paying these legacies he assigns all the money, moveable goods, jewels, and horses which he may leave behind him, and also the crops of the demesne lands to which he had a right.[1] Among these it should be noticed that vineyards are mentioned. According to the witness of William of Malmesbury, wine made in the diocese of Lincoln must have been sour.[2] As residuary legatees, to whom anything that is over is to be distributed at the discretion of his executors, he names the poorer monasteries of his diocese, the poor lepers, the converted Jews, and a body who were fast rising into importance, not far from the forsaken sea of his predecessors before the Norman came, the masters and scholars of Oxford. The tenants on his demesne lands, on whom his rights as landlord might sometimes have been heavy, were also to come in for a share.[3] Two more bequests come in as an

Vineyards.

Dealings with his tenants.

" missali, quod vendatur et distri-" buatur pauperibus pro anima " Rogeri de Bristollia quondam " canonici Lincolniensis."

[1] P. 227. "In primis de bladis et " instauris meis . . . similiter " assigno . . . . omnes fructus tam " de bladis in terra mea seminatis " ante mortem meam, quam fructus " virgultorum et vinearum eodem " anno scilicet usque ad festum " sancti Michaelis proxime post " obitum meum provenientes."

[2] William of Malmesbury (Gest. Pont. 292) says of the vale of Gloucester, "Regio plus quam aliæ " Angliæ provintiæ vinearum fre-" quentia densior, proventu uberior, " sapore jocundior. Vina enim ipsa " bibentum ora tristi non torquent " acredine, quippe quæ parum " debeant Gallicis dulcedine." If the episcopal vineyards produced wine at all according to this standard, they must surely have been in Buckinghamshire, rather than in Lindesey.

[3] P. 227. "Pauperibus homini-" bus maneriorum meorum, et præ-" cipue illis hominibus quorum " blada habui quæ seminaverunt in " dominicis meis, per dominum " regem postquam fui confirmatus, " nec ea mihi postmodum remise-" runt, et quæ dominus rex de jure " non potuit illis warantizare; et

afterthought. The second is simply a bequest to a servant; but it is one which, like the mention of the masters and scholars of Oxford, shows that the furthest part of the diocese and the ancient seat of the bishopric was not forgotten. To his servant Walter at Dorchester he leaves five marks.[1] The former of these bequests is one of the same kind as the earlier benefaction to the hospital at Wells. He leaves a temporary and conditional possession of two manors to the abbey of Louth Park.[2] He further gives them a pension of five marks, secured in a way which again illustrates the nature and the hardship of the feudal tenures. The bishop's seneschal has got a grant of the wardship of one of the military tenants of the see. He is to pay the five marks out of the profits till his own possession comes to an end by the heir coming of age.[3] These bequests are both in their nature temporary. The bishop's wish is that his gift to the abbey shall be equal to a capital sum of two hundred marks. A reckoning is to be made; if the profits of these temporary grants do not reach that full value, the residue is to be made up to the abbey in some other way. If they come to more, the abbey is to pay back the overplus to

Further bequests of feudal profits.

Legacy to Louth Abbey.

"etiam aliis hominibus meis si "quos gravari." I do not fully understand this, but it clearly refers to something which happened at the restoration of the temporalities by the king.

[1] P. 228. "Item lego Waltero "servienti meo de Dorkecestre x. "marcas." This must surely mean "Walter *at* Dorchester," and not merely a man described as "Walter *of* Dorchester."

[2] P. 227. The manors are to be held "usque ad terminum inter me "et Roesiam de Kime et Philippum filium suum constitutum, a "die videlicet beati Lucæ evangelistæ anno Domini M°cc°xxvii. "usque ad decem annos proximo "sequentes completos."

[3] P. 228. "Assigno et concedo "eisdem abbati et conventui v. "marcas annuas de custodia terræ "et heredis Rad. de Wyhun; quam "Gilberto de Treilli senescallo meo "et Rad. de Waravill concessi et "tradidi, habendam et tenendam "cum pertinentiis suis usque ad "legitimam ipsius heredis ætatem, "reddendo inde dictis abbati et "conventui v. marcas annuas ter"minis supradictis."

the bishop's executors. One would think, from the insertion of this important bequest after the will might seem to be finished, that the profits of these manors and the wardship must have fallen in after the bequest to the Wells hospital was made.

The executors.

He then appoints as his executors his brother the bishop of Bath, three of his own archdeacons, the treasurer of the church of Lincoln —an office since suppressed,—and seven of his own chaplains and clerks.[1]

He ends by a solemn appeal to the archbishop of Canterbury, and to the dean and chapter and archdeacons of his own diocese, to do all that they can to bring about the full carrying out of his will, and to denounce ecclesiastical censures against all who may stand in the way of its execution. Lastly, even after the signature, he leaves to the king his best palfrey and his best cape; he also leaves forty marks to Richard Cotele, a knight of his brother's, towards the marriage of his daughter.[2]

Final bequest.

Mr. Dimock then prints a charter of Henry III., dated as much as six years earlier than the actual will, in which the king confirms his disposal of his property. Another copy, he adds, has a later date and is signed by a different set of witnesses. But long before this, quite early in his episcopate, bishop Hugh had made another will, a copy of which is preserved in the Liber Albus belonging to the chapter of Wells. All this marks the bishop's anxiety to make a just disposition of his goods, and also to secure that his will, whatever it might be, should be fully carried out. In this last point of view his care may be thought to mark the likelihood that it might by some means turn out otherwise.

May 27, 1227.

May 15, 1229.

[1] Two are described as "capelani "mei" and five as "clerici mei." What is the difference?

[2] There is some mention of this Richard Cothele and his family in Collins' Somerset, iii. 330.

Robert Grosseteste, bishop, 1235–1253.

We go back to the lives of the bishops as compiled by John of Schalby. After Hugh of Wells comes the greatest name in Lincoln history, the glory of the scholars and patriots of his day, the friend and counsellor of Earl Simon, the man who withstood and rebuked pope and king alike. It is to the honour of our Lincoln chronicler that the name of Robert Grosseteste receives its fitting panegyric, and that his successful establishment of his rightful episcopal authority over his refractory canons is recorded with no mark of repining.[1] His virtues are recorded; so are the miracles wrought at his tomb; so are the vain attempts to procure canonization at Rome for one of the heroes of England. But the local record adds nothing to our knowledge of the acts of the great bishop. We can hardly complain; Robert Grosseteste does not belong to his own church but to his country.

Henry of Lexington, bishop, 1253–1258.

Of the next bishop, Henry of Lexington, Mr. Dimock has more to tell us than John of Schalby has, and that is not much. Richard of Gravesend, who follows, is more eminent both in local and in general history. A sufferer for the patriotic cause, he was also a special benefactor to his church, though too many of his benefactions took the form of appropriating churches to his chapter. In addition to what is said of him in this way, Mr. Dimock further prints in the Life an act of chapter, recording this bishop's benefactions, and making regulations for his obit. It contains a list of advowsons which he obtained for the

Richard of Gravesend, bishop, 1258–1279.

Infra, App. H.

His benefactions.

[1] P. 205. "Hic litem contra "capitulum, suum Lincoliense, "super jure visitandi idem capitulum ac prebendas exteriores prebendis interioribus annexas, ecclesias de communa, aliisquepluribus "articulis, in Romana curia obtinebat et sententiam reportavit." This controversy must be studied in the collection of Bishop Robert's letters published in this series by Mr. Luard.

Acquisition of advowsons.

bishopric, from which most of them have been separated. Mr. Dimock remarks that some of those in the archdeaconry of Northampton are now in the patronage of the bishop of Peterborough, adding, "to whom I suppose they would descend on the "creation of the see by Henry VIII. out of the old "diocese of Lincoln." But surely no such transfer of advowsons would take place as a matter of course. The bishop of Peterborough would rather have the advowsons of churches which had been in the gift of the abbey. Any transfer of patronage between the two bishoprics must surely be of modern date. Then come two vicarages in the archdeaconry of Leicester, the patrons of which he procured should present at the bishop's nomination. This is something like turning the *congé d'elire* round about to the damage of the layman. The chapter received an advowson and several appropriations. The church of Iffley in Oxfordshire is appropriated to the archdeacon of Oxford. A pension of ten pounds is assigned to the vicars of the church of Lincoln, and a maintenance is for the first time provided for the choristers.

Appropriation to the choristers.

These boys, twelve in number, had hitherto lived on the gifts of the canons; they now were to live together under their master, and they received for their support the appropriation of the church of Little Ashby, which thence took the name of Ashby Puerorum. They had also other endowments of the same kind, and pensions charged on religious houses. This settlement is looked on by the dean and chapter as the best of the bishop's good works.[1] They accordingly decree his obit; they settle the services by which it was to be celebrated, and the payments to be made to all the members of the church who were present, according to their rank. In this bishop's days also a

Obit of Bishop Richard.

[1] P. 234. "Quod excellentius esse videtur."

Dispute with archbishop Boniface.

dispute was settled between Boniface archbishop of Canterbury and the chapter of Lincoln as to the exercise of jurisdiction during the vacancy of the bishopric.[1]

Oliver of Sutton, bishop, 1280-1299.

Infra, 255.

The next bishop, Oliver of Sutton, dean of Lincoln, was chosen bishop "per viam inspira-"tionis." An explanation of this phrase is given by Mr. Dimock in his Glossary. Bishop Oliver receives the best possible character, and some of the special merits attributed to him may throw some light on the dealings of other bishops who were less scrupulous. The fines which he received from adulterers and other delinquents he did not keep to himself, but divided them among mendicant friars, poor nuns, and the poor of the parishes in which the crimes were committed.

His kindness to the villains on his demesnes.

Still more to be noticed is the praise that he never burthened the villains on his demesne with any tallages or other exactions beyond the service lawfully due from them. Instead of so doing, he often relieved the poor on his manors with money. He also increased the daily commons of the canons from eightpence to twelvepence. In short, the only fault which the capitular writer can find with him is, that, when the taxation of pope Nicolas

Rating of the prebendal churches.

was made, he allowed the prebendal churches to be too highly rated, a crime of which he deeply repented before his death.

At this point we get a glimpse of the writer whom John of Shalby here followed. The compiler says that he knew all bishop Oliver's acts, because he lived in his house for eighteen years as his registrar.

Building of the cloister, vicars' court, &c.

Considerable architectural works were carried out during this episcopate. Bishop Oliver caused the cloister to be

[1] See Mr. Dimock's Note, the same dispute is also referred to in the Annals of Dunstable, Annales Monastici, iii. 189, 190, 213, 214.

built, and gave fifty marks towards the building. The vicars' court was also begun in his time and with his help, and after his death it was carried on by his executors. This marks a stage in the development of cathedral institutions. The vicars, hitherto mere deputies of absent canons and living in the empty houses of their masters,[1] were now beginning to become corporate bodies, dependent on the chapter with regard to their duties, but holding independent property of their own, and living together in a collegiate manner. The best known case is the famous Vicars' Close at Wells. But it appears from this account that the change was made earlier at Lincoln, as the Vicars' Close at Wells was the work of Ralph of Shrewsbury, bishop from 1329 to 1363.

Building of the separate church of St. Mary Magdalen.

But perhaps the most interesting among the works of bishop Oliver was one which at once connects itself with the original building of the minster by Remigius. Up to this time the parishioners of St. Mary Magdalen had *Supra,* lxxxii. kept their church in the nave of the minster into which their elder church had grown. It was now alleged that the cathedral clergy were disturbed by the coming in of the parishioners. Bishop Oliver accordingly, with the consent of the chapter and of the parish, caused a separate parish church of St. Mary Magdalen to be built. Here all parochial ministrations were to take place, except baptisms, which were still to be celebrated at the minster font, and burials, which were still to be performed in the minster burial ground.

Death of bishop Oliver.

Bishop Oliver's registrar gives us a touching account of his death, while matins were singing on St. Brice's day, a day which in

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[1] See the graphic account in Richard of the Devizes, p. 65. "Si "ad fores talium pulsaverit advena, "si pauper clamaverit, respondebit "qui pro foribus habitat (et ipse "satis pauper vicarius), 'Transite, "'et alibi alimoniam quærite, quia "'dominus domûs domi non est.'"

general English history suggests such different memories. He also quotes the report of the bishop's confessor as to his personal virtue.[1] He was succeeded by another of those local worthies who received a popular canonization without being ever put on the list of acknowledged saints at Rome. This was John of Dalderby, chancellor of the church of Lincoln, elected bishop "per viam scrutinii," whose life is written, like that of Oliver of Sutton, by a member of his household, who extols his piety, bounty, and diligence in preaching. But he still continued the practice of appropriating the revenues of parochial churches to the cathedral body in the form of pensions to the newly established college of vicars.[2] He also did one act which ends the history of the relations between the minster and the neighbouring parishes. The church of All Saints, whose revenues had formed the subject of a dispute recorded in Domesday, was now united with the once more distinct church of St. Mary Magdalen. Some complications arose as to the patronage and jurisdiction of the now united parish. By some arrangement later than the days of Godric and Earnwine, the chancellor had become rector, patron, and immediate ordinary of the church of All Saints. He had also temporal rights and jurisdiction over the tenants of the church of Lincoln with the parish. The parish of St. Mary Magdalen was, as we have seen, in the patronage and jurisdiction of the

John of Dalderby, bishop, 1300–1320.

All Saints Church and St. Mary Magdalen, 1318.

Supra, lxxxi.

Supra, lxxxiii.

[1] P. 212. "Non possum negare," says the confessor, "quin justissi-"mus, constantissimus, et mun-"dissimus homo fuit."

[2] P. 213. There is something missing in the text, but one of the pensions seems to be charged on the vicarages of two churches which were already appropriated. "Et eisdem "vicariis communiter habitantibus, "ad sustentationem domorum, "sumptibus proximi prædecessoris "sui pro habitatione vicariorum "constructarum, pensionem qua-"tuor librarum sterlingorum, de "vicariis duarum ecclesiarum "Hospitalariis appropriatarum, "contulit annuatim." This certainly seems hard measure.

chapter as a body. These conflicting claims were thus reconciled. As the chapter was superior ordinary of All Saints, the chancellor's ecclesiastical jurisdiction was merged in that of the chapter, which thus became immediate ordinary of the united parish. But the chancellor kept all his temporal rights, among them that of advowson. Instead of the perpetual patronage of All Saints, he received every third presentation to the united benefice of St. Mary Magdalen and All Saints.[1]

Successive election after the death of John of Dalderby.

The place vacated by the death of John of Dalderby was not filled without a good deal of controversy. The chapter first chose their dean, Henry of Mansfield, who declined the election. Then they chose "per viam "scrutinii," another of their own body, a member of the episcopal family of Bek or Beek, the less famous Anthony of that name, who was then, like John of Dalderby, chancellor of the church. But pope John XXII. refused the election, and bestowed the bishopric on Henry of Borowash or Burghersh. In describing him the record falls back on a formula which has been long forgotten. It is said pointedly that Master Henry of Borowash was an Englishman by birth; but the reason now obviously is because the pope might very likely have appointed a Roman or other stranger. There may also be some wish to throw some little scorn on the Englishman who received consecration beyond sea at the pope's bidding.[2]

Anthony Beek, or Bek, refused by the Pope.

Henry of Burghersh, bishop.

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[1] P. 214. "Jus præsentandi ad "dictam ecclesiam beatæ Mariæ "Magdalenæ cum vacaverit tertia "vice, cancellario dictæ ecclesiæ "Lincolniensis prædicto et suis "successoribus, in recompensa-"tionem juris patronatus quod "quondam habuit in dicta ecclesia "Omnium Sanctorum, imperpe-"tuum reservavit."

[2] P. 215. "Dominus papa Jo-"hannes xxii. prætendens se epi-"scopatum Lincolniensem suæ "collationi reservasse, contulit "illum magistro Henrico de Boro-"wasch, natione Anglico; qui in

John of Schalby is now, if not actually writing in his own person, at least copying records of his own time. For his own name appears among the canons who were present when the treasurer Thomas of Louth, in the year 1324, promised a clock to the minster, a thing which had hitherto been lacking. Mr. Dimock remarks that the act of chapter is here copied with some omissions, one of which is the statement that nearly every other cathedral and conventual church had a clock. The fourteenth century seems to have been a time when the making of these great astronomical clocks was in fashion. The famous one at Glastonbury, now at Wells, dates from about this time.

Relations between the bishop and Edward II.

The local writer mentions, without giving any details, certain persecutions which this bishop underwent at the hands of Edward II. And he adds that this happened, although it was at the king's own instance that he had taken the bishopric. This seems hardly to fit in with the story in the paragraph immediately before about the bishopric being conferred by the pope. It is however quite possible that the king made use of the pope to cancel a regular election by the chapter. If the papal letter which John of Schalby appears to have copied, but which Mr. Dimock says is not now to be found, had luckily come down to us, the matter might have been clearer. Under Edward III. the bishop fared better.

He is chancellor to Edward III.

He was that king's chancellor, and he procured for the palace, the churchyard, and the canons' houses, an extension of the very doubtful privilege of sanctuary. This is the last fact which John of Schalby records, and his record here comes suddenly to an end.

" partibus transmarinis authoritate " papæ munus consecrationis acce- " pit." He adds, " Pro cujus ad- " missione in episcopatum dominus " papa scripsit capitulo Lincolni- " ensi sub hac forma." But, as Mr. Dimock remarks, the letter is not forthcoming.

In Appendix F. Mr. Dimock has printed two documents, containing indulgences issued by St. Hugh and other bishops to those who contributed to the works at the minster. Along with them is the account of the translation of St. Hugh in 1280.

Translation of St. Hugh.

These documents are commented on by Mr. Dimock at greater length than usual. It is to be noted that Edward I. and his queen Eleanor, with Edmund earl of Lancaster, for a moment nominal king of Sicily, were all present at the ceremony. As the body of St. Hugh had been waited on by kings at its first burial, so it was again at its translation. Edward and Edmund had once had a share in the translation of Edward the Confessor, together with their fathers, the kings Richard and Henry. Thus the first king of the foreign stock who became wholly English, and the first Englishman who accepted even a nominal foreign crown, joined together to do honour, first to an English king who became in heart a stranger, and then to a foreign bishop who became in heart one of the truest of Englishmen.

I have thus done what I could to finish the imperfect work of my deceased friend. It is possible that I have here and there lighted on some points which would not have struck him. On the other hand, it is much more certain that he would have been able to throw much light on many matters on which I am quite unable to throw any. Mr. Dimock was a master of manuscripts, and he knew the local history of Lincoln better than any other man. To me a manuscript becomes practically useful only when it is changed into the more every-day shape of a printed book. And to me the history of Lincoln, though one of the most important and interesting of local histories, is valuable only as a part of the history of England. I have necessarily approached the subject from one side, while Mr. Dimock would have approached it from another. At the same time it is always useful to insist

on the truth that the general history of any country is very largely made up of the particular histories of its cities and districts. A man who works at the history of Lincoln or any other local history, as it ought to be worked at, as Mr. Dimock worked at it, is directly working at general history also. Being asked, as I have been, to finish Mr. Dimock's work, I have necessarily done it in my own way, which is necessarily not the same as his way. It would have been far better both for me and for all other students of English history, if we had had these valuable local materials fully commented on by one who was qualified above all other men to deal with them as local materials. Mr. Dimock would have put into the hands of the general historian of England a complete and thoroughly finished offering made by the history of Lincoln to the history of England. All that I have done, all that I could undertake to do, is to mark such points as strike a student of the general history of England in the course of what may be called an occasional visit to the history of Lincoln.

EDWARD A. FREEMAN.

Somerleaze, Wells,
July 27th, 1877.

The printing of this volume was commenced towards the end of the year 1868, under the direction of the late Master of the Rolls, with the sanction of the Lords Commissioners of H.M. Treasury, but in consequence of the continued illness of the late editor, the Rev. J. F. Dimock, there was considerable delay in passing it through the press. Unfortunately, Mr. Dimock did not live to complete his task, which to him had been a labour of love, for he was one of those ripe and devoted scholars whose energies never flagged, and whose accuracy and skill won universal confidence. The loss of such a

trustworthy scholar will be widely felt and not easily replaced. Mr. Dimock had finished the text and index of the volume, and written the preface as far as page liii. At the request of his family, his tried and valued friend Mr. E. A. Freeman has completed the work. The mere announcement of this fact is sufficient voucher for the value and accuracy of the addition. Mr. Freeman is widely known and appreciated as an accomplished scholar in the field of historical literature, but he has brought more than his usual scholarly knowledge to bear on this subject, and has laboured zealously for the honour of his friend.

T. Duffus Hardy,

Deputy Keeper of the Public Records.

24th Sept. 1877.

GIRALDI CAMBRENSIS

VITA S. REMIGII.

VITA S. REMIGII.

PRÆFATIO; DONUM[1] DECLARANS, ET GRATIAM COMPARANS.

P. 9 of MS.

REVERENDO patri et domino, S. Dei gratia Cantuariensi archiepiscopo, totius Angliæ primati, et sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ cardinali, G. de Barri dictus, archidiaconus[2] Sancti David, cum salutatione devota et salute perpetua libellum suum.

Dedication to Stephen Langton, archbishop of Canterbury.

Volumen hoc bipartitum, duorum quippe virorum illustrium vitas, exemplo præclaras et memoratu dignissimas, principaliter et præcipue complectens, vestræ celsitudini destinare curavi; quanquam tantæ majestati, triplicique[3] per Dei gratiam in una persona dignitati munus indignum, digno tamen cui digna donentur præsentatum. In quo quidem luculentissimas unius ecclesiæ lampades duas, nubilos hos dies et finalia mundi tempora caliginosa lumine suæ claritatis irradiantes, cum ceteris quibusdam non incompetenter aut inutiliter adjectis, non absque admiratione pariter et

This volume in two parts, containing the Lives of Remigius and Hugh.

[1] *donum . . comparans*] This is omitted by Wharton, who has only "Præfatio," above which he has the heading, "Giraldi Cambrensis "Liber de vitis episcoporum Lin- "colniensium," of which there is nothing in the MS.

[2] *archidiaconus, &c.*] Giraldus still gives himself this title, though he had resigned the archdeaconry to his nephew some ten years before this preface was written, in December 1203, or soon after. See vol. iii. 325.

[3] *triplicique, &c.*] I suppose this means that Langton was archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, and cardinal of the holy Roman church. This was his address in official documents.

exultatione, necnon et laudabili zelo caritatis, ac sanctitatis æmulatione considerare poteritis.

Reperietis hic etenim, inter Lincolniensis ecclesiæ lilia, duo niveo nitore fulgentia; quorum tamen annis aliquot præcessit et præfloruit unum, nec emarcuit; alterum autem, haud dissimiliter perpeti candore con-
10. spicuum, suo in tempore subsecutum: rosam in medio Cantuariensem, quasi pictura decenti purpureo colore qui marcescere nequit rubricatam, dignis quoque laudum præconiis brevi quidem eloquio sed dilucido venustatam.

Also, in three pairs, accounts of the more praiseworthy bishops of the time.

Invenietis et hic episcoporum Angliæ, præcipua nostris diebus laude dignorum, copulam tergeminam. Ubi et reperire poteritis, si tamen lectioni interdum vacare volueritis aut valueritis, quæ animo vestro, quanquam admisso et quasi currenti ac ferventi, calcar adjungant, imitabilia nonnulla et laudabilia.

Nam, sicut in legenda quadam ecclesiastica de sanctis legi solet, Qui sanctorum merita religiosa caritate miratur, quique justorum glorias frequenti laude colloquitur, eorum mores sanctos atque virtutes imitetur; quoniam quem delectat alicujus sancti meritum, delectabile est ei proculdubio et imitabile par circa cultum Dei obsequium. Nec enim difficile est nobis quod ab ipsis geritur imitari, cum sine præcedenti exemplo ab antiquis talia gesta conspicimus, ut non ipsi aliorum æmuli redderentur, sed æmulandæ virtutis seipsos nobis præberent exemplum; quatinus dum nos ex ipsis, et ex nobis alii proficiant, sic Christus in suis semper
11. magnificetur, et angelica ruina, completo maturius electorum numero, restauretur.

Præsertim autem illis hoc perfacile est et perspicuum, quos viam virtutis ac vitæ feliciter ingressos, et victoriosum pro Christi ecclesia contra seculares nequitias jam constat certamen aggressos.

Ad cujus etiam appetitum [1] mentem bene institutam,

[1] *etiam appetitum*] So the MS.; appetitum etiam, Wharton.

et tam naturæ quam industriæ donis ac dotibus informatam, plurimum invitare debent non solum præmia patriæ, verum etiam [1] laus et gloria grandis hinc proculdubio proventura, dum tamen non hæc affectentur, vitæ scilicet istius ac viæ. Gloria namque virtutes ac virtuosos tanquam umbra sequitur vel invitos; et appetitores sui deserens, laus secularis, et popularis applausus, diligit et appetit contemptores; mirumque in modum res dum desideratur amittitur, eademque dum vitatur acquiritur. Vere itaque,

" Laus umbræ similis, quam non fugiendo fugabis;
" Si fugis, en sequitur; fugit aspernata sequentem."

This volume to be lent to Hugh de Wells, bishop of Lincoln, the only bishop as yet consecrated by Langton.

Pretium igitur est mihi laboris et præmium, si libellum vobis exaratum saltem semel oculo vel aure percurratis, et postmodum eundem venerabili Lincolniensi episcopo Hugoni secundo, filioque vestro primogenito, et hactenus etiam [2] unigenito, ad tempus interdum precario concedatis; quatinus lectione refocillatus pluri- 12.
mum et delectatus, præter egregiam Remigii vitam imitatione dignissimam, Hugonem primum subsequens Hugo [3] sequatur, et virtutem ac vitæ sanctitatem, quas in ipso fuisse perpenderit, totis in se desideriis amplectatur; quatinus ejusdem sicut nominis et dignitatis, sic et ominis ac felicitatis valeat successor haberi. Idem consideret ibidem decessores suos, cum titulis et descriptionibus suis, fere cunctos, quia [4] præter ultimum solum [5] per ordinem omnes; in quibus, tanquam speculo quodam perlucido, quæ sibi imitanda fuerint evidenter attendere poterit, et quæ vitanda.

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[1] *etiam*] MS.; et, Wharton.

[2] *etiam*] Omitted in Wharton. The "unigenitus," applied to Hugh de Wells, proves that this dedication to archbishop Langton was written before October 5, 1214, when he consecrated Walter de Grey to Worcester, and Simon de Apulia to Exeter.

[3] *subsequens Hugo*] MS.; Hugo subsequens, Wharton.

[4] *quia*] Omitted in Wharton.

[5] *ultimum solum*] *i.e.* William de Blois, bishop of Lincoln 1203–1206.

The author hopes that Hugh de Wells will exert himself to procure the canonization of Remigius and Hugh.

Non igitur aliam ab ipso vel alio laboris hujus vel expeto vel exspecto remunerationem, nisi quod, duplicato beneficio, unico tamen ad curiam labore complendo, sed multiplici quidem et non unica mercede retribuendo, beatum Remigium, nobilem Lincolniensem antistitem primum, simul cum Hugone primo, opere quidem et opera laudatissimis, Romæ canonicari satagat, Lincolniæque transferri; quatinus qui magni meritis et gratia suis ambo temporibus, et propemodum in eadem ecclesia præsidendo pares extiterant, magno
13. simul in terris, dignoque, parique donentur honore.

Remigius removed the see to Lincoln, and annexed Lindsey to his diocese.

Lindsey comprised between the rivers Humber and Witham.

Magnam quippe beato Remigio, præter merita ipsius maxima, et caritatis opera quibus affluebat pene incomparabilia, sicut præsens ejusdem legenda declarat, gratiam et gloriam adjicere debet, quod sedem suam cathedralem a loco nimis incongruo et obscuro ad urbem præclaram et locum competentem, scilicet Lincolniam, transferre curavit; necnon et hoc quoque, quod Lindeseiam totam, ab Humbro marino usque Withemam fluvium, qui Lincolniam permeat et penetrat, per tanta terrarum spatia, contra adversarium tantum tamque potentem, metropolitanum scilicet Eboracensem, innata quippe prudentia præditus, et gratia quoque desuper et divinitus adjutus, quoniam diligentibus Deum omnia cooperantur et prosperantur in bonum, tam provinciæ Cantuariensi quam etiam[1] diocesi Lincolniensi stabiliter atque potenter adjecit.

Honorem igitur ab ecclesia recipiat et in ecclesia, quam tanto tamque decenti beare decrevit honore; quatinus et eadem, tanquam gemina columna in altum erecta, gaudeat et exultet fideliter ac firmiter esse subnixa; duplicique thesauro simul ac semel feliciter effosso, et in auras[2] publicas atque in commune de-
14. ducto, Lincolnia lætetur et ditetur; tertiumque thesaurum pretiosissimum, suo similiter in tempore subli-

A third precious

[1] *etiam*] MS.; et, Wharton. | [2] *auras*] MS.; aures, Wharton.

mandum, brevique dierum spatio, propitiante Domino, speret et exspectet exaltandum; purpuream scilicet puniceamque Cantuariæ gemmam incomparabilem, non quidem sub modio ponendam, aut in occulto diutius dimittendam, sed, ut pulchrius elucescat, exponendam potius et extollendam.

treasure, viz., St. Thomas of Canterbury, to be soon translated.

Cujus splendore non Anglia solum, et Britannia tota, verum etiam[1] orbis fidelium climata cuncta, quasi sole quodam, nubibus et nebulis expulsis, recenter emerso et serenius irradiato, signis quoque repullulantibus, et virtutibus crebris renovatis, undique gaudiis illustrata clarescent, et lætabundis vocibus ac votis in laudum præconia communiter et confidenter exsurgent.

Hoc igitur ordine tractando processimus. Præmisimus utrique legendæ capitula primum, et postea proœmium. Quatinus ex ipsis quasi luminaribus, quibusdam commode præmissis, cuncta sequentia clarius enitescant, et lectoris animo longe evidentius atque efficacius singula per partes congruas et distinctiones innotescant.

Plan of this work.

Valeat in Domino dominus meus.

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[1] *etiam*] MS.; et, Wharton.

[PRÆFATIO[1] IN VITAM SANCTI REMIGII LINCOLNIENSIS EPISCOPI.

Two especial reasons for writing the Life of Remigius.

Beati Remigii, non Remensis sed Lincolniensis, acta describere, me præcipue duo dedere; inter mundi divitias et dignitates spontanea spiritus humilitas et paupertas, et in hac mundi vespera, qua refrigescere caritas solet, fidei fervor inventus et devotionis.]

[1] This, for Giraldus, marvellously short and sensible preface, is not in the MS. of this treatise, but is given in the *Symbolum Electorum* (R. 7, 11, Trin. Coll. Cambridge). See vol. i. 395. It was the preface to his first edition of the treatise, as written by him when at Lincoln, circa 1197 or 8. The foregoing preface, addressed to archbishop Langton, of course is not in this *Symbolum*, which was no doubt compiled years before Langton's accession to Canterbury.

CAPITULA[1] IN LEGENDAM BEATI REMIGII, LINCOLNIENSIS EPISCOPI PRIMI. 15.

I.—De electione Remigii et consecratione; vitæque et morum ejusdem institutione.

II.—Quod inter universas quibus emicuit virtutes, præcipue caritate præfulgebat.

III.—Quod prædicationi jugiter insistendo,[2] enormes plebis excessus pontificaliter extirpavit.

IV.—Quod episcopalem sedem Lincolniam usque transposuit; totamque diocesi suæ Lindeseiam adjecit.

V.—Quod ecclesiam consecrare paratus, morte præventus occubuit.

VI.—De miraculis. Et primo, de contracto ad tumbam viri sancti curato.

VII.—De muliere, talos in tergo fixos habente, ibidem curata.

VIII.—De adolescente, qui per annos quatuordecim contractus extiterat,[3] in integrum, data sanitate, restituto.

IX.—De Judæa, muta et surda, sana ibidem effecta.

X.—De corpore viri sancti, ad latus altaris sanctæ crucis aquilonare translato, et post triginta duos annos integro invento.

XI.—De puella quadam, Alveva dicta, a nervorum contractione curata.

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[1] *Capitula, &c.*] Instead of this, Wharton has the heading, "Summaria capitum Legendæ S. Remigii." And he places these Capitula first (*Anglia Sacra*, ii. 408), before the foregoing preface to Langton, which begins on his page 410.

[2] *insistendo*] MS.; innitendo, Wharton.

[3] *extiterat*] MS.; extiterit, Wharton.

XII.—De alia muliere, similiter[1] simili morbo curata.

XIII.—De surdo, ficique morbo graviter afflicto, hic curato.

XIV.—De muliere, a beato Thoma Cantuariensi huc transmissa, quæ visum suscepit.

16. XV.—De muliere, a dolore capitis decennali curata.

XVI.—De puero, claudo et contracto, ibidem erecto.

XVII.—De muliere, hydropica simul et paralytica, ad tumbam curata.

XVIII.—De phrenetico et dæmoniaco, sanitatem ibidem assecuto.

XIX.—De monacho, et presbytero, a febris vexatione curatis.

XX.—De puella contracta, poplitibus extensis ad tumbam erecta; et viro quodam, eodem ibi die visum recuperante.

XXI.—De successoribus ejusdem. Et primo de Roberto Bloeth.

XXII.—De Alexandro.

XXIII.—De Roberto de Cheineto, seu Querceto.

XXIV.—De electo Galfrido.

XXV.—De Waltero Constanciensi.

XXVI.—De Hugone Burgundiensi.

XXVII.—De episcopis Angliæ tergeminis. Et primo de Thoma Cantuariensi, et Henrico Winthoniensi.

XXVIII.—De Bartholomæo Exoniensi, et Rogero Wigorniensi.

XXIX.—De Baldewino Cisterciensi, et Hugone Carthusiensi.[2]

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[1] *similiter*] After this Wharton inserts "a."

[2] After the above table of headings of the chapters of the *Vita Remigii*, Wharton gives (p. 409), under the title, "Incipiunt secundæ "distinctionis capitula," the headings of the first eleven of the thirteen chapters of the second distinction of the *Vita S. Hugonis* infra; and then, under the title "Tertia Distinctio," the headings of the six chapters of the third distinction of the same treatise.

INCIPIT PROŒMIUM.

The benefits of reading the Lives of saints.

Vitas virorum virtute præditas legere libenter, et mente tenere, laudabilis est operæ diligentia. Eorumque præcipue juvat acta recolere, qui nubilos hos dies, et caliginosas finalis temporis hujus et mundi vesperæ tenebras, nobiscum conversando lumine suæ claritatis
irradiant. Mundo nimirum in maligno posito, fidei 17.
fervor olim intepuit; et quasi rivulo procul ab origine longa derivatione producto, nativum fontis saporem unda deposuit. Unde et quanto magis multorum hodie caritas, quasi contagiis infectorum, moresque formantium a convictu, jam refrixit, tanto propensius ipsam variis tam lectionum remediis et exhortationum, quam etiam sanctæ conversationis exemplis, tanquam incitatoriis quibusdam et auram provocantibus, opus est exsuscitare. "Cogunt enim nos," ut ait Gelasius, "multas invenire medicinas multorum experimenta "morborum."

Quid autem cor hominis ad caritatem et correctionem magis accendit, quam homines in terris attendere nil animo prorsus terrenum sapientes, verum totis cœlo nisibus fixos, terram carne cœlum corde tenentes, vitamque beatam quæ non auferetur hic jam feliciter inchoantes?

Isti, ut ait Augustinus, sunt sancti, qui lucent in medio hujus nationis pravæ et perversæ sine querela fixi in cœlo; quibus dicit apostolus, "Omnia facite "sine murmuratione, positi in medio nationis pravæ, "ut luceatis tanquam luminaria in mundo." Horum

Phil. ii. 14, 15.

autem conversatio in cœlis est: unde despiciunt quæ in terra fiunt, quasi non curent quæ hic gerantur, et sicut luminaria placide peragunt cursus suos, quicquid in terris agatur; lectioni et orationi, labori manuum
18. et abstinentiæ dati, angustiati, afflicti, quibus dignus non erat mundus.

Hi sunt igitur alios tam vita quam verbis ædificantes, seque vivendi tanquam exemplaria mundo donantes; qui, juxta illud angeli in Daniele, quoniam
Dan. xii. 3. "ad justitiam erudiunt multos, quasi stellæ fulgent in "perpetuas æternitates." Hi nempe ad laudabilem meliorum æmulationem bonos accendunt; malos autem ad conversationem, virtutumque quas in ipsis vident imitationem, tam monitis quam bonorum operum exemplis vocant, vel saltem ad earundem admirationem pariter et approbationem efficaciter invitant. Virtus enimvero est virtutem diligere vel in altero; et magnum bonæ indolis indicium, immo quasi quoddam bonitatis ipsius initium, bonum quod nondum mens ad plenum tenet, in proximo diligere et approbare: quoniam, ut ait Augustinus, qui in alio amat bonum quod ipse non habet, imputatur ei tanquam haberet.

Hi sunt enim qui affectus carnis ex toto superant, et potenter Dalidam suam domant; qui non terram sapiunt, sed quæ sursum sunt; qui in carne quidem ambulant, sed non secundum carnem militant; qui mundi delicias omnes et divitias, tanquam lutum calcantes, alta mente contemnunt, nec quicquam præter Deum cogitare dignum ducunt.

Hi sunt, ut ait Ambrosius, in quibus non est cor-
19. poralium possessionum ulla cupiditas; quos non inflammat libido, non stimulat avaritia, non effeminat lascivia, non decolorat luxuria, non sternit ambitio, non macerat invidia, non aliqua negotiorum secularium cura solicitat.

Quorum aliqui si ad mundanas forte dignitates et rerum culmina quandoque rapti fuerint, paupertatem

spiritus et humilitatem non exuentes, spontaneam inter opes inopiam, et inter escas inediam patiuntur. Aurum enim et algam æquiparantes, divitiis, cum affluunt, quæ pusillanimes quidem, et terrena fæce defixos, a via veritatis avertere solent, cor non apponunt; sed potius eisdem in caritatis opera bene utendo, viam sibi per hæc materiamque augent et ampliant ad coronam; juxta illud philosophi,[1] "Magnus ille est, qui in divitiis "pauper est;" et illud psalmistæ, "Simul in unum Ps. xlviii. 3.
"dives et pauper."

Inter hos autem electos, et electorum electissimos, The sanctity of Remigius.
non longe ante hæc nostra extabat tempora mundus a mundi contagio, qui et nostro nunc causam calamo dedit, sanctæ memoriæ vir Remigius, Lincolniensis antistes primus; qui Anglicani suis diebus lux et gemma sacerdotii, totam incomparabili splendore insulam lumine suæ sanctissimæ conversationis illustravit.

In quatuor itaque particulas libellus iste distinguitur.
Prima viri sancti vitam singulariter et gesta complectitur. 20.
Secunda virtutes ipsius et signa prosequitur. The plan of this treatise.
Tertia successorum ejusdem sex proprias seriatim exprimit actiones. Quarta præelectorum Angliæ nostri temporis antistitum tergeminorum mores et modos comprehendit.[2]

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[1] *philosophi*] Wharton; philophi, MS.

[2] Beneath this Wharton adds "Explicit."

[Cap.] I.

De electione Remigii, et consecratione; vitæque et morum ejusdem institutione.

Remigius, bishop of Dorchester directly after the conquest.

Remigius ergo, tempore Anglorum regis Willelmi primi agnomine Bastardi, regno sibi armatis viribus et animositate subacto, circa initialia quoque regni ejusdem tempora, ad sedem Dorkecestrensem a clero loci illius canonice in episcopatum est electus, et a viro venerabili ac sancto, archipræsule Cantuariensi Launfranco,[1] solemniter apud Doroberniam consecratus.

His character, &c. A monk of Fescamp.

Erat quippe vir prudens et providus, et copiose literatus, de Normannia oriundus, et Fescamensis monasterii monachus professus; et quoniam

Hor. Ep. i. 17, 35.

"Principibus placuisse viris non ultima laus est,"

Came into England with William, with 10 knights from his abbey.

regis notitiam, quamplurimam familiaritatem, atque favorem habens, puta qui cum ipso in regnum venerat, et decem[2] militibus, quos in ejus auxilium et obsequium abbas ejus miserat, quasi decurio nobilis in necessariorum ministratione præfectus. Illud autem officium, quanquam invite susceptum, quoniam a monastica quiete longe alienum, sed per obedientiam tamen, a suis sibi primoribus injunctum, cum tanta industria atque mo-

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[1] *Launfranco*] This is false. So far from having been consecrated by Lanfranc, Remigius was himself one of the assisting bishops at Lanfranc's consecration, August 29, 1070: Gervase (*Twysden*, 1653, l. 16). He was consecrated by archbishop Stigand, perhaps as early as 1067. See the Profession which he afterwards made to Lanfranc, Appendix (A.) *infra*. What, if any, was Giraldus's authority for his consecration by Lanfranc, I cannot say. I have found no such statement elsewhere.

[2] *decem*] A far better authority than Giraldus says that the aid which Remigius brought to William's invasion was one ship with twenty "milites;" "A Remo, elemosinario Fescanni, postea episcopo Lincoliensi, unam navem cum viginti militibus:" *De Navibus, &c.* (Printed in Report of Commissioners on Public Records, 1800–1819, i. 488.)

destia gesserat, ut tanquam omnibus omnia factus, nec 21.
secularem militiam, in tanto tumultu ac populari strepitu, austeritate nimia vel singularitate religionis ostenderet,[1] nec ordinis aut habitus dignitatem, ullius nævo maculæ, per mundi contagia denigraverit.

His virtues.

Religionem igitur, humilitatem, mansuetudinem, et pietatem, ac præcipue caritatem, quasi præcipuam et primam, radicatas olim in se virtutes in sublimitate non deserens, sed magis exemplo docens, quia non mutant mores, ut dici solent, sed potius monstrant et revelant honores, tantam in cunctorum oculis gratiam obtinuit, ut solus inter Anglorum antistites præcipuus et verus orphanorum ac pupillorum defensor, necnon et afflictorum sustentator esse videretur; adeo ut ore et opere, moribus egregiis et vita laudabili, canonicam illam pastoralis viri descriptionem, quod raris accidere solet, plene adimplesse videretur.

[Cap.] II.

Quod inter universas quibus emicuit virtutes, præcipue caritate præfulgebat.

His great charity.

Inter cetera vero virtutum ejusdem insignia, adeo caritatis titulos præferebat, ut in Christi pauperes se totum exhauriendo, tam proprias, si quæ fuerant, quam ecclesiæ suæ facultates, eisdem non pro posse solum, sed quasi Martinus alter ultra posse plerumque largiretur; illud Pauli ad Galathas[2] se legisse dissimulans, 22.
" Nolo ut aliis sit refrigerium, vobis autem tribulatio." 2 Cor. viii. 13.
Sciebat enim et eundem ad Galathas eosdem scripsisse;
" Si fieri posset, oculos vestros eruissetis, et dedissetis Gal. iv. 15
" mihi." Et Johannes, in epistola canonica prima;

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[1] *ostenderet*] So MS. and Wharton. "Offenderet," surely, would be the right reading.

[2] *Galathas*] A mistake. The passage is in 2nd Corinthians.

1 John iii. 17. "Qui habuerit substantiam mundi, et viderit fratrem "suum necessitatem habere, et clauserit viscera sua "ab eo, quomodo caritas Dei manet in eo?" Præ-
Ibid. 16. miserat autem, "In hoc cognovimus caritatem Dei, "quoniam ille pro nobis animam suam posuit; et nos "debemus pro fratribus nostris animas[1] ponere." Sed si animas, quanto magis et pecunias. Item et illud
Officiorum, ii. 28 (i. 50, ed. Basil., 1555). Ambrosii; "Necessitates aliorum, quantum possumus, "juvemus, et plus interdum quam possumus." Licet tamen post subjunxerit, "Misericordiæ vero modus "servetur, ut non sibi quisque totum eripiat, sed "quod[2] habet cum paupere partiatur." Sed et idem
Sermo 81, iii. 309 (ibid.). alibi; "Non minus est criminis habenti tollere, quam "cum possis et abundes indigentibus denegare." Et alibi; "Tantorum te[3] scias invadere bona, quantis "possis præstare si velis." Item Beda; "Frustra "manus suas ad Deum orando expandit, qui eas ad
Ep. 54 (i. 60, ed. Colon. 1616). "pauperes pro posse non extendit."[4] Item Ieronymus; "Pars sacrilegii est, rem pauperum pauperibus non "dare." Item in Ecclesiastico; "Ante mortem bene-
23. "fac amico, et secundum vires tuas exporrigens da
Ecclus. xiv. 13; xxix. 15; xvii. 18. "pauperi." Et paulo post, "Conclude elemosynam in "sinu pauperis, et hæc pro te exorabit ab omni malo." "Elemosyna viri quasi sacculus[5] cum ipso, et gratiam
Tob. iv. 7–9. "hominis quasi pupillam conservabit." Item Tobias ad filium; "Ex substantia tua fac elemosynas, et "noli avertere faciem tuam ab ullo paupere: ita enim "fiet,[6] ut nec a te avertatur facies Domini. Quomodo

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[1] *nostris animas*] So MS.; animas nostras, Wharton. The Vulgate has "animas" only.

[2] *quod*] MS.; quæ, Wharton.

[3] This quotation is also from Sermo 81 of St. Ambrose: where, instead of *Tantorum te* is "Tot te "ergo;" and instead of *quantis*, "quot."

[4] *extendit*] MS.; expandit, Wharton. I have not succeeded in finding the passage in Bede.

[5] *sacculus*] The present Vulgate has "signaculum" instead; σφραγίς of the Septuagint, v. 22. "Saccu-"lus," however, is the reading of the Lyons Vulgate, 1521, without any *alias*.

[6] *fiet*] So MS. and Vulgate; fiat, Wharton.

"poteris, ita esto misericors; si multum tibi fuerit, "abundanter tribue; si exiguum fuerit, etiam[1] exi-"guum libenter impertiri stude." Item Salomon in Parabolis; "Domino fœneratur, qui pauperis mise-"retur." Et in eisdem; "Qui obturat aurem suam "ad clamorem pauperis, et ipse clamabit, et non ex-"audietur."[2] Item Albitius;[3] "Tria sunt genera ele-"mosynarum; una corporalis, egenti dare quicquid "poteris; altera spiritualis, dimittere a quo læsus "fueris; tertia, delinquentem corrigere, et errantes ad "viam veritatis reducere." In quibus omnibus incomparabiliter Remigius emicuit.

Prov. xix. 17.
Prov. xxi. 13.

[Cap.] III.

Quod[4] prædicationi jugiter insistendo, enormes plebis excessus pontificaliter exstirpavit.

Instances of his charity to the poor.

His igitur et similibus vir Deo plenus ad caritatis opera non mediocriter allectus, longe plus tamen[5] ad hæc internæ pietatis et dilectionis ardore compulsus, quolibet æstivo tempore a kalendis Maii usque ad kalendas Augusti, præter opera misericordiæ quæ in cunctos fere quos videbat egenos misericorditer exer- 24.
cebat, mille ex more pauperibus alimenta præbebat; ac præterea cæcos, claudos, languidos, et variis incommodis debiles et imbecilles, qui ad victum quærendum se movere non poterant, centum sexaginta vestibus annuatim et cibariis sustentabat. Item quolibet die cum ad prandium sedebat, mensæ suæ tredecim ex

[1] *etiam*] MS. and Vulgate; et, Wharton.

[2] *exaudietur*] MS. and Vulgate; audietur, Wharton.

[3] *Albitius*] So MS.; Albinus, Wharton.

[4] *Quod prædicationi, &c.*] This heading is plainly misplaced here. It belongs to the first part of Cap. V. *infra*. And this Cap. III. ought to form the conclusion of Cap. II.

[5] *plus tamen*] MS.; tamen plus, Wharton.

consuetudine pauperes adhibebat; omnique feria septima mandatum cum summa humilitate ac devotione celebrabat.

Founded a leper-house near Lincoln.

Ad hæc etiam primus hic juxta urbem[1] Lincolniæ leprosis habitaculum lapideum construxit, et ad usum vitæ necessaria quæque suppeditavit; adeo ut certum eis et perpetuum tredecim marcarum redditum assignaret. Quos et crebra visitatione confortando, et tam animæ cibum quam corporis largiendo, ad patientiam et longanimitatem verbo prædicationis instruebat; docens carnis martyrium tale, patienter et pure sufferentibus, Deoque jugiter et devote supplicantibus, ipsumque ex toto corde diligentibus, et gratias ei in cunctis agentibus, ad salutis animarum remedia divina miseratione collatum.

[Cap.] IV.[2]

Quod episcopalem sedem Lincolniam usque transposuit; totamque diocesi suæ Lindeseiam adjecit.

Removed the see to Lincoln. 25.

His itaque Remigius et moribus ornatus, et operum meritis imitabile bonis omnibus exemplar datus, de sedis suæ Lincolniam usque, locum longe cathedrali ecclesiæ competentiorem, translatione,[3] quod olim mente

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[1] *urbem*] MS.; verbum, Wharton. Giraldus stands alone, I believe, and is probably wrong, in ascribing to Remigius the foundation of the hospital of lepers near Lincoln. King Henry I. seems to have been the real founder. If there had been, in the Lincoln records, any authority for a primary foundation by Remigius, it is not likely that John de Schalby would have passed it over without notice. This house was called the Hospital of the Holy Innocents. It stood just outside Lincoln, on the South, to the left of the road to Sleaford: its site is still known as the Malandry Fields.

[2] This chapter agrees entirely in substance, and much in language, with the commencement of John de Schalby's account of Remigius: Appendix (E.) *infra*. Both writers are no doubt quoting from the same early Lincoln records, now not known to be in existence.

[3] The date of the transference of the see from Dorchester to Lincoln

conceperat, non absque labore grandi, operam[1] erga regem et archiepiscopum, excambium Eboracensi pro Lindeseia donantes, prudenter effectui, Deo cooperante mancipavit. Et sic Lindeseiam, terramque totam inter[2] Widhemam scilicet Lincolniæ fluvium et Humbriam, diocesi suæ provinciæque Cantuariensi viriliter adjecit. Utque firmiori quod gestum fuerat stabilitate constaret, cathedralem ecclesiam suam in summo apud Lincolniam montis vertice trans Widhemam, in honore beatæ Virginis fundari, egregieque in brevi consummari procuravit. Sicut longe ante miraculis quibusdam, signis, et prodigiis, multisque sanctorum tam virorum quam mulierum visionibus, præter spem futurum esse divinitus fuerat declaratum.

Added Lindsey to his diocese.

Built the cathedral of Lincoln.

Constituta vero ecclesia, et stabiliter collocata, juxta ritum Rothomagensis ecclesiæ, quam sibi in singulis quasi exemplar elegerat et præfecerat, canonicos viginti et unum statim adhibuit; datis præbendis et assignatis, cunctorum etiam altarium totius ecclesiæ oblationibus canonicis eisdem perpetua largitione concessis.

The church constituted on the model of Rouen. Twenty-one canonries endowed.

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is variously stated by different writers; some perhaps giving the time when it was first set about, others the time of the partial or complete establishment at Lincoln.

According to Malmsbury (*De Gest. Reg.*, Savile, 65 b–66 b), the transference of this and other sees was ordered in the council held at Winchester and Windsor in 1072. When also decision was given against the claim of jurisdiction of the archbishop of York over Lindsey. It was probably soon after this that the work of the transference to Lincoln was begun. For Malmsbury again tells us (*De Gest. Pont.*, Savile, 117 b), that in the council at London in 1075, the transference of certain sees was again ordered, which had before been ordered in 1072; and as Lincoln is not one of these, we may conclude that in 1075 the transference was in this case in process of effect, if not actually effected.

[1] *operam*] So MS.; et opera, Wharton.

[2] *inter*] So MS. It is omitted by Wharton, who, to make sense, adds "interjacentem" in brackets after *Humbriam*.

[CAP.] V.

Quod ecclesiam consecrare paratus, morte præventus occubuit.

His itaque completis, quoniam[1] gregem commissum gravibus olim involutum criminibus invenit; prolem enim propriam quam genuerat,[2] nepotes etiam et neptes, alienigenis in servitutem detestanda avaritia venalem ex consuetudine prostituebant; perjurium, adulterium, incestum, pro modico, vagum vero concubitum et illegitimum pro nihilo reputabant; cœpit prædicationi et instructioni tanquam strenuus pastor et impiger vitiorum eliminator insistere, totamque diocesim suam[3] de fine ad finem fortiter attingens, suaviterque disponens, tam circueundo quam penetrando non cessavit, donec præscriptas enormitates, et alias quascunque reperiebat, pro posse funditus eradicasset, et, exstirpatis vitiis, more boni pastoris et non mercenarii, undique virtutes pontificaliter inseruisset.

26. The bad state of the diocese.

His successful preaching and instruction.

Prepares for the dedication of the church.

Quibus egregie peractis, vir magnanimus et Deo plenus,

"Nil[4] credens actum cum quid superesset agendum,"

manum ecclesiæ suæ consummationis, et sacræ munus dedicationis adhibere, tota mentis intentione pro-

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[1] *quoniam*] MS.; quum, Wharton. And so, many times; his scribe misreading the contraction qm. There is no such word as "quum" in medieval manuscripts: "cum" is always the form used for this conjunction. At least, so I am fully persuaded. Giraldus stands alone in this description of the bad state of the diocese.

[2] *genuerat*] MS.; genuerant, Wharton.

[3] *suam*] MS.; omitted in Wharton.

[4] This quotation is from *Lucan. Pharsal.*, ii. 657, where is, "Nil "actum credens." What follows about the consecration of the church, and the death of Remigius, is related much more briefly by John de Schalby. He has no mention of the exact day of his death, and erroneously gives the year 1091 instead of 1092.

posuit. Convocatis autem ad hoc tam episcopis quam abbatibus et baronibus[1] multis, de plebe vero præter ordinem ut solet et numerum undique confluentibus infinitis, sumptuum quoque in tantorum et tot virorum adventu ad exhibitionis honorem suffi- 27.
cientia longa et larga provisione congesta, vir sanctus quod tantopere desideraverat morte præventus effectui non mancipavit. Quarto[2] namque die ante indictum[3] dedicationis diem, quia semper extrema gaudii luctus occupat, in mœrorem versa lætitia, rebus humanis exemptus est. Erant autem Dominicæ dies Ascensionis et dies Sancti Johannis ante portam Latinam concurrentes, quando[4] vir sanctus tanquam una cum Domino cœlos ascendit, et exultantibus angelis empiræi palatii portas æternales feliciter intravit. Unde et a quodam dictum est ;

Prevented by death.

Died on Ascension Day, being also the day of St. John "ante portam Latinam," May 6, A.D. 1092.

"Festa Johannis erant portam simul ante Latinam
"Et Domini Ascensus, cum pater hic obiit."

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[1] *et baronibus . . . . confluentibus*] So MS.; omitted by Wharton.

[2] Florence of Worcester (ii. 30, English Hist. Society), who is followed exactly by Simeon of Durham (Twysden, 217, l. 53), and Hoveden (i. 145, Stubbs), says that 7 Id. May, or May 9, was the day fixed for the consecration of the church, and that Remigius died two days before. Diceto agrees with them, word for word, except that he gives 6 Id. May, or May 10, as the day fixed for the consecration (Twysden, 490, l. 55). William of Malmsbury (Savile, 165*b*, l. 43), followed by Henry of Huntingdon (*Ibid.* 213*b*, l. 40), says that he died the day before the day fixed for the consecration, but gives no date. Whatever may have been the day fixed for the consecration of the church, it seems perfectly certain that Giraldus's May 6 is the right day of Remigius's death. His concurrence of Ascension Day with St. John ante portam Latinam, which was the case in 1092, is a sufficient proof that he is giving us what he found in the old records then at Lincoln, though there be no mention of this in the later compiler from them, John de Schalby. Moreover, the 12th century Obituary of Lincoln (Appendix B. *infra*), a conclusive authority, places Remigius's death under May 6.

[3] *indictum*] MS.; omitted in Wharton.

[4] *quando*] MS.; quum, Wharton.

Occulta sunt ergo judicia Dei. Cui[1] fere in omnibus ad votum ante successerat, hoc illi desiderium suum tam laudabile, tam honestum, non est consummare concessum. Ergo nec velle volentis, nec currere currentis, sed totum est Dei miserentis. Exequiis autem, ut tantum virum decuit, solemniter et rite peractis, sepultus est a fratribus in eadem ecclesia, in prospectu altaris sanctæ crucis, pridie[2] nonas Maii.

Rom. ix. 16.

Buried also May 6.

[Cap.] VI.[3]

De miraculis. Et primo de contracto ad tumbam viri sancti curato.

28.

Cure of a cripple, a member of the treasurer William's family.

Quam fuerit tamen Deo carus, quanquam in hoc non exauditus, signa post obitum ejus et prodigia, quæ sub silentio præteriri non debent, multis indiciis declararunt. Primum autem miraculum hoc erat. Juvenis quidam, de domo et familia thesaurarii Willelmi,[4] totis febre[5] membris olim contractus, in ecclesiam devectus, Dominum coram tumba viri sancti cum diutius exorasset, tanquam in extasim factus, et extra se raptus, in terram corruit. Ubi cum se aliquamdiu devolvisset, extensis nervis omnibus, erectus exiliit: Deumque laudans et sanctum Remigium, rectis de cetero gradibus ambulavit.

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[1] *Cui*] MS.; cum, Wharton.

[2] *pridie nonas*] *i.e.* May 6, the day of his death. There must be some mistake.

[3] Chapters VI.-IX. are omitted by Wharton. John de Schalby (Appendix E. *infra*) just mentions the miracles, and no more: "Quan-" tum Deo carus extiterat in vita, " miracula post obitum ejus contin-" gentia declararunt."

[4] The treasurer William does not occur in the published lists of Lincoln dignitaries. The 12th century Obituary, however (Appendix B. *infra*), records his death on 19 kal. January (December 14). He seems to have held the office before the middle of the century. *See* note (2) p. 23, *infra*.

[5] *febre*] So MS. Perhaps "fere" would be the right reading.

[Cap. VII.]

De muliere talos in tergo fixos habente, ibidem curata.

Cure of a woman, a cripple from birth.

Fuit et mulier quædam, cui nomen Leviva, a nativitate fixos in tergo talos habens; quæ manibus solum, scabellis innixa duobus, se transferebat. Quæ cum ad tumbam sancti in orationibus aliquamdiu perstitisset, ruptis nervis pedum et ossibus, quibus ad tergum prava ligati fuerant et perversa natura, cunctis admirantibus et Deum laudantibus, quæ nunquam usum pedum ante habuerat rectis absque podio passibus incessit.

[Cap.] VIII.

De adolescente, qui per annos quatuordecim contractus extiterat, in integrum,[1] data sanitate, restituto.

Cure of a 14 years cripple, a member of the treasurer Jordan's family.

Adolescens quidam, de familia thesaurarii Jordani,[2] successoris Willelmi, qui per annos quatuordecim pedibus et tibiis contractus fuerat, sero in vigilia nativitatis sancti Johannis Baptistæ ad ecclesiam allatus,
et coram tumba locatus, circa mediam noctem erectus, 29.
integram sanitatem recuperavit. Adeo ut non solum ad gressus tremulos et quietos, verum etiam ad cursus celeres, et saltus, plantas susciperet consolidatas.

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[1] *integrum*]. So in table of chapters *supra:* here the MS. has "in-" "tegram."

[2] Jordan, according to the published lists of Lincoln dignitaries, was treasurer about 1188 (Hardy's *Le Neve*). It seems clear, however, from the 12th century Catalogue of Books at Lincoln (*infra*, Appendix C.), that this date must be very far wrong. The chancellor Hamo, who drew up this catalogue, died in 1182. He speaks of Jordan as treasurer, at the time when he himself became chancellor, which was as early as 1150, if not still earlier; and speaks of Martin, the successor of Jordan, who, according to the published lists, was treasurer about 1160 and in 1164. Jordan must have been treasurer about the middle of the century, and not later than 1160. The Obituary (*infra*, Appendix B.) records his death on the 1st of July.

[Cap.] IX.

De Judæa, muta et surda, sana ibidem effecta.

Cure of a Jewess, deaf and dumb from her birth.

Judæa, in urbe Lincolniensi degens, muta a nativitate et surda, dominica quadam, cum urbis populo, ecclesiam beatæ Virginis intravit; non tamen ut oraret, sed potius ut Christum, sicut præsumitur, etsi non verbis, mente tamen et gestu, more gentis suæ perfidæ et perversæ, miserrima blasphemaret. Erat autem hora quasi inter tertiam et sextam, cum diaconus jam ad pulpitum, evangelium pronunciaturus, ascenderet. Et ecce, cum vaga prius per ecclesiam deambulasset, demum ad tumbam viri sancti parumper inspiciendo et tanquam admirando stetisset, in terram subito corruens, nomen sancti Remigii alta voce pronunciavit: linguaque Gallica loquens, non solum sermonem, sed etiam auditum illico suscepit. Ex quo patet, quia non propter merita semper, aut devotionem, sed ut manifestetur gloria Dei, miracula fiunt. Ad majorem autem divinæ virtutis laudem, locus evangelii qui hora legebatur eadem iste fuit; (Luc. xi. 14.) "Erat Jhesus ejiciens dæmonium, "et illud erat mutum: et cum ejecisset dæmonium, "locutus est mutus, et admiratæ sunt turbæ." Tantus autem, in hoc tam insigni miraculo, factus est concurrentium, admirantium pariter et exultantium, tam populorum quam etiam cleri chorum relinquentis clamor atque tumultus, quod non solum evangelii lectio, verum etiam missæ ipsius celebratio fere fuerat interrupta.

She is afterwards baptized by bishop Alexander, and by him carried about, to spread the praises of Remigius.

Hæc autem, ab episcopo loci ejusdem Alexandro baptismi gratiam postmodum adepta, et per industriam cum ipso diu per urbes et castra transvecta, beati Remigii longe lateque præconia præferebat.

[Cap.] X.[1]

De corpore viri sancti, ad latus altaris sanctæ crucis aquilonare translato, et post triginta duos annos integro invento.

Processu vero temporis, cathedralem beatæ Virginis ecclesiam casuali contigit igne consumi.[2] Et ipso incendio, cum fortius ingrueret, tecti materia in aream corruente, petra corpori superposita, per medium confracta, partes in geminas est separata. Cujus eventus occasione, a canonicis loci ejusdem inito consilio, quatinus ad locum secretiorem, communique a transitu remotiorem corpus transferretur, sapienter est decretum.

Fire in cathedral, circa A.D. 1124.

Tombstone of Remigius broken in two.

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[1] This chapter is given by Wharton.

[2] Giraldus, so far as I know, is our only authority for this fire in the cathedral circa 1124, and for the injury to the tomb of Remigius, and the removal of his body. He is so circumstantial in his account, that it would seem he is closely copying from what he found in a Lincoln legend of Remigius. But there seem to me grave doubts whether the church ever suffered from fire at all at this time. The Peterborough continuator of the Saxon Chronicle tells us, indeed, that on May 19, 1123, a fire consumed nearly the whole city of Lincoln; but he has not a word about any damage to the cathedral; a thing which, if it had happened, we can hardly suppose a contemporary Peterborough chronicler would not have mentioned, especially when narrating the ravages of the fire in the city. Moreover the Margan Annals (p. 11, ed. Luard) describe this fire, under A.D. 1122, as consuming the whole city; but they expressly add that the minster and the bishop's palace escaped destruction;—"Civitas Lincolniæ tota incendio consumpta est, excepto tamen monasterio et episcopio." These authorities seem to me conclusive against Giraldus's destruction of the church at this time by a fire.

But it is probably true that there was some injury to the tomb of Remigius, and a removal of his body, about this time, and owing to a fire which had done some small mischief in the part of the church where his body lay. The Lincoln legendist, whom Giraldus follows, writing probably many years after the event, seems to have connected this partial fire in the cathedral with the destructive, and no doubt still well-remembered fire of the city, and to have represented the one as destructive as the other.

His body, after 32 years, found incorrupt.

Richard the Norman tries 31. in vain to pull out some hairs of the beard.

His punishment.

The body translated to the north side of the altar of Holy Cross. His ring used for curing fevers.

Jejuniis igitur, orationibus, et confessione communiter purgati et mundati, effossum corpus et discoopertum, cum annis jam xxxii. in terra jacuisset, adeo integrum ut ibi positum fuerat est inventum; nulla etiam in veste ipsius, vel in modico, læsione reperta. Quidam autem nomine Ricardus, similiter natione Normannus, videns et admirans corporis integritatem, barbæ,[1] quæ prolixa aliquantulum tanquam excrevisset extiterat, temeraria præsumptione tentare volens an pili firmis carni radicibus inhærerent, vellere manu fortiter cœpit, sed nec unum avellere potuit. Qui continuo domum remeans, tam plectibilis præsumptionis audaciam divina statim ultione secuta, gravi morbo correptus, per annum integrum lectum tenuit et languorem. Translatum est ergo cum[2] reverentia magna, sicut tantum decuit thesaurum, corpus usque ad altare sanctæ crucis, ibique ab aquilonari latere debiti honoris exhibitione reconditum. Annulus autem a digito ipsius extractus, et aquis intinctus, potum febricitantibus variisque languoribus ægrotantibus salubrem dedit.

[Cap.] XI.[3]

De puella quadam, Alveva dicta, a nervorum contractione curata.

Cure of Alveva de Navenby, a three years cripple.

Puella quædam, Alveva nomine, de Navenebi dicta, quæ, per triennium nervis contracta, prorsus inutilis effecta fuerat, huc advecta ad tumbam viri sancti, cum per unam tantum noctem ibidem moram fecisset, in matutinis horis, scilicet nocte Pentecostes, cum cantor qui tunc chorum regebat inciperet *Beata nobis gaudia*, et ipsa, cum gaudio multorum, integræ sanitatis gaudia

[1] *barbæ*] MS.; barbæque, Wharton.
[2] *cum*] MS.; omitted in Wharton.
[3] Chapters XI.–XX. are not in Wharton.

recuperavit. Hæc autem miracula, sicut et alia quæ referimus cuncta, testimonio proborum virorum de vicinia, necnon et sacerdotis loci ejusdem, infallibili sunt veritate comperta et probata.

These miracles 32. attested by neighbours, and priest of parish.

[Cap.] XII.

De alia muliere, similiter simili morbo curata.

Affuit alia mulier non longe post, contracta similiter; quoniam huic præcipue languori se propitium dedit. Quæ, cum aliquantulum ibidem in orationibus et vigiliis moram fecisset, optatæ sanitatis gaudia recuperavit.

Another like cure. Remigius especially propitious in such cases.

[Cap.] XIII.

De surdo, ficique morbo graviter afflicto, hic curato.

Fuerat in urbe Lincolniensi vir olim surdus existens, et nec ad clamorem etiam quicquam audiens. Habebat hic quoque fici morbum in corpore gravissimum. Qui, cum de pulvere a tumba extracto, et aquæ imposito, cum devotione bibisset, utriusque incommodi remedia statim, non sine gaudio multorum et exultatione, suscepit.

Cure of a man deaf, and afflicted with piles.

[Cap.] XIV.

De muliere, a beato Thoma Cantuariensi huc transmissa, quæ visum suscepit.

Hactenus autem antiquiora miracula, quibus sanctum suum Dominus mirificavit, perpetuæ memoriæ, literarum munimine, commendavimus. Nunc autem ad ea, quæ novissimis accidere temporibus, stilum Deo duce vertemus.

So far, these miracles of old date. Henceforth recent ones.

A woman, blind for three months, dreams that St. Thomas of Canterbury bids her go to Remigius for cure.

Mulieri cuidam, quæ per menses tres oculorum visum
amiserat, apparuit in somnis beatus Cantuariorum
martyr Thomas, nomen suum ei pariter indicans et
dignitatem; quique eandem hujuscemodi sermone con-
33. venit. "Vade," inquit, "mulier, ad beatum Remigium
"Lincolniensem episcopum primum: ubi, per merita
"sancti ejusdem, pristinæ sanitatis gaudia recuperabis.
"Hunc enim mihi socium in Anglia dedit Deus:
"quem multis, in brevi, coram omni populo, signis et
"virtutibus magnificabit. Quoniam enimvero Domi-
"num toto corde dilexit; matrique ipsius totis semper
"nisibus, præcipue vero in Lincolniensis ecclesiæ con-
"structione, quam nomine suo fundaverat, tantum
"honorem exhibuit; quicunque tumbam viri sancti
"in eadem ecclesia, vera pœnitentia et confessione
"purgatus ac devotus adierit, quacunque obsessus
"ægritudine, sanitatis gaudia recuperabit." Mulier
autem, his auditis, versus Lincolniam iter incunctanter
arripiens, virum suum aliosque de vicinia probos viros
secum ducens, puta quæ ob tanti viri tam certam
promissionem de obtinenda sanitate quasi secura fuerat,
die Martis proxima post caput jejunii ecclesiam beatæ
Virginis intravit. Et cum mane ad tumbam viri
sancti se prostrasset, et in orationibus devote perseve-
rasset, ante horam primæ completam visum recupe-
ravit. Porro quanquam virum suum, ut diximus, et
vicinos adduxerit, nondum tamen est ei fides habita,
donec sacerdos loci ejusdem, rei veritatem asseverans,
advenisset. Sic enim singulorum, ut dictum est, mira-
culorum virtus et veritas est comprobata.

Recovers her sight. This miracle attested by her husband and neighbours, and the parish priest. As in other cases.

[Cap.] XV.

De muliere, a dolore capitis decennali curata.

34. A Lincoln woman

34. Accidit autem, quadragesimali tempore eodem, muli-
erem quamdam de urbe Lincolniensi, quæ dolorem

capitis continuum per decennium usque ad rabiem fere sustinuerat, ad tumbam viri sancti circa vesperam accessisse. Quæ completorium ante completum, evanescente dolore, desideratæ sanitatis munus accepit.

cured of a 10 years head-ache.

[Cap.] XVI.

De puero, claudo et contracto, ibidem erecto.

Puer quidam, contractis poplitum nervis, adeo ut super genua incedens duobus se tantum baculis circumferret, quadragesima eadem, die scilicet Parasceves, qua hora videlicet mundum Christus in cruce redemit, cum multorum gaudio sanus et erectus incessit.

Cure of a crippled boy.

[Cap.] XVII.

De muliere, hydropica simul et paralytica, ad tumbam curata.

Consequenter, ad clausum Pascha, mulier quædam, hydropica pariter et paralytica, ad ecclesiam beatæ Virginis in rheda transvecta, et coram tumba locata, quamcito aquam pulvere mixtam devote gustaverat, utriusque simul incommodi sanitatis gratiam hilaris et læta suscepit.

Cure of a dropsical and paralytic woman.

[Cap.] XVIII.

De phrenetico et dæmoniaco, sanitatem ibidem assecuto.

Accessit ad tumbam viri sancti puer quidam, cui nomen Ernisius, phrenesi plenus, et dæmoniaca dudum rabie possessus. Qui cum aliquantulam ibidem moram fecisset, sanitate reddita, sancti Remigii beneficium, quod non per se sed per suos imploraverat, est assecutus.

Cure of Ernisius, a madman. 35.

[Cap.] XIX.

De monacho, et presbytero, a febris vexatione curatis.

A monk cured of ague. A priest of fever.

Inter alios, ad tumbam monachus quidam, quartana longo jam tempore graviter afflictus, accessit. Qui de pulvere cæmenti tumbæ aqua mixti bibens, statim curatus febrem amisit. Similiter et presbyterum, aquam cæmento mixtam cum gustasset, febris expulsa reliquit.

[Cap.] XX.

De puella contracta, poplitibus extensis, ad tumbam erecta; et viro quodam, eodem ibi die visum recuperante.

Cure of a woman of Lindsey, a cripple for two years. And of a Lincoln man, blind for four years.

Mulier quædam de Lindeseia, quæ per biennium contracta rectis passibus non incesserat, ad tumbam sancti cum devotione devecta, sanitatem illico lætabunda suscepit. Eodem etiam die, vir quidam de urbe Lincolniensi, qui quatuor annis nihil viderat, ad tumbam devotus accedens, luminis lætitiam recuperavit.

Many other miracles. The above the more certain ones. Frequent only whilst the church

Multis quidem et aliis quæ non sunt hic scripta miraculis, Dominus mirificavit in terris sanctum suum, et in conspectu populi totius tam magnifice glorificavit. Certiora tamen, et evidentioris fulta testimonio veritatis, stili officio comprehendimus. Porro et hoc notandum, et quasi pro miraculo habendum occurrit, quod usque ad consummabilem ecclesiæ cumulum [1]

[1] *cumulum*] *i.e.* the roof of the church. *See* Glossary, *infra*. The building of the cathedral here referred to must be the building of St. Hugh, as the miracles of the last seven chapters are recent miracles. *See* the beginning of Cap. XIV. *supra*. This "ecclesiæ cumulus" must therefore be the roof of the choir, the only portion of the church which was completed by Hugh.

beneficiis et oblationibus confluentis undique populi 36.
tam sumptuosum opus plene perfectum fuerat, et non was building.
amplius, crebra ad tumbam viri sancti miracula coruscabant. Eatenus enim Christi planta divino virtutum atque signorum rore rigari non cessavit, donec ipsam in horto cœlesti, veraque deliciarum area, per areolas congrue distincta, et fontis irrigui scaturigine temperata, firmas posuisse radices cunctis perspicuum esset. Ubi, continuis ejusdem patrociniis, meritis, ac votis specialiter adjuti, illi ibidem, post vitæ istius cursum feliciter exactum, divina vocante gratia, complantari valeamus: præstante Domino nostro Jhesu Christo, qui, cum Patre, et Spiritu Sancto, vivit et regnat Deus in secula seculorum. Amen.

[Cap.] XXI.[1]

De successoribus ejusdem. Et primo de Roberto Bloet. 37.

Igitur vita beati Remigii sub stili brevitate transcursa, subsequentium antistitum nomina summatim et acta perstringere non incongruum reputavi. Successit itaque Remigio Robertus Bloeth,[2] similiter natione Normannus, prudentia et probitate conspicuus. Hic

Successors of Remigius. Robert Bloet, 1094–1123.

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[1] This chapter agrees wholly in substance, and generally very closely in wording, with John de Schalby's account of Bloet. The latter adds a charter, releasing the prebendal property from episcopal jurisdiction; Appendix (E.) *infra*.

[2] The bishoprick of Lincoln was given to Bloet by William Rufus, at Gloucester, in Lent 1093; at the same time that the archbishoprick of Canterbury was conferred on Anselm; Saxon Chron.; Flor. Worc. (ii. 31, English Hist. Soc.); Hen. Hunt. (213 b, Savile). He was consecrated by Anselm at Hastings, in the chapel of St. Mary in the castle, in February 1094; probably on Sunday February 12, as the same bishops were assisting who had assisted at the consecration of Battle abbey the day before. The king was then at Hastings, waiting a favourable wind for Normandy. *See* Eadmer (p. 23, Selden); Chron. Mon. de Bello (p. 41, Anglia Christiana Soc.); and Stubbs' Episcopal Succession, p. 24.

His benefactions to the church.

palliis[1] olosericis, capis auro intextis, philateriis, phialis, crucibus, et textis aureis et argenteis, artificum diligentia mirifice fabricatis, ecclesiam suam laudabiliter adornavit.

Doubled the number of prebends.

Terras plurimas et maneria perquisivit; præbendas quoque in duplum multiplicavit. Cum enim viginti et unam tantum invenisset, totidem adjiciens quadraginta duas adimplevit.

Settled the controversy about Lindsey.

Controversiam magnam ab archiepiscopo Eboracensi Thoma super Lindeseia recuperanda, totaque terra[2] ex parte illa usque Widhemam ecclesiæ suæ resarcienda, suæque diocesi redintegranda, sumptuosis litibus suscitatam,[3] a rege Willelmo Willelmi filio,

Had been chancellor of William Rufus.

cujus cancellarius extiterat, fiscalibus facultatibus et excambiis perpetua sedari transactione curavit.[4]

Removed the monks of Stow to Eynsham.

Monachos quoque de Stowa usque ad Egnesham, laudabili commutatione, et ecclesiæ Lincolniensi tam propter manerii propinquitatem et amœnitatem, quam et præbendarum vicinitatem valde accommoda, provide trans-
38. posuit: baculique pastoralis donationem, et principalis dispositionis ac provisionis honorem, sibi et successoribus suis reservavit.

Ely severed from Lincoln, A.D. 1109.

Sed hujus tempore, Eliensis ecclesia per regiam voluntatem et violentiam desiit esse Lincolniensis filia; et facta est cathedraliter principalis,[5] quæ fuerat ante subjugalis.

Spaldwick, Hunts., being received in exchange.

Spaudewic[6] tamen cum pertinentiis suis, quadraginta librarum manerium, a monasterio Eliensi in excambium suscepit. Et quia

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[1] *palliis*] John de Schalby has "pannis" instead.

[2] *totaque terra*] So Wharton; the MS. has totamque terram," which seems certainly wrong. John de Schalby gives no help.

[3] *suscitatam*] "sustentatam" instead, in John de Schalby.

[4] The charter of William Rufus, stating the settling of this claim of the archbishop of York, and the compensation given him, is in the *Regist. Mag.* of Lincoln, f. 1 b., and printed in Dugdale, No. 5. It was granted in 1094 probably; Bloet is bishop of Lincoln in it; certainly not later than 1095, as bishop William of Durham, one of the witnesses to it, died January 2, 1096.

[5] Hervey, bishop of Bangor, became the first bishop of Ely in 1109.

[6] *Spaudewic*] So MS.; Spaldwyk, J. de. Schalby. Spaldwick, Huntingdonshire.

" Stultitiam patiuntur opes,"[1] et " Prosperitas stulto-" rum perdet eos,"[2] inter alia sui deliramenta, quanquam in multis tamen ecclesiæ suæ perutilis,[3] centum librarum pallium, peregrinis sabellinarum pellibus, nigris admodum, atque interjecta canitie respersis, et exquisitissimo panno consertum, regi Henrico primo dedit; et inconsiderata largitione ad donaria similia successores suos obligavit.

Was the first to give the 100*l.* mantle to the king.

[Cap.] XXII.

De Alexandro.

Huic successit Alexander,[4] de Normannia similiter oriundus. Hic præbendas aliquot adjecit: terras etiam aliquas et maneria perquisivit. Sed quatuor,[5] ex terris ecclesiæ suæ et redditibus, tanquam unum altare spoliando et alia vestiendo, monasteria construxit. Tria[6] quoque castella in terris ecclesiæ suæ magnis sumptibus erexit, hostili quidem quod tunc instabat tempore pernecessaria. Pallium, quod decessor suus primo dedit, et ipse quoque sine contradictione persolvit. Ecclesiam tamen Lincolniensem casuali igne consumptam egregie reparando lapideis fideliter[7] voltis primus involvit.

Alexander, 1123–1148. Added some prebends, &c. Built four monasteries, and three castles.

39. Continued the gift of the mantle. Vaulted the church after a fire.

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[1] Hor. 1 Ep. xviii., 29.

[2] Prov. i., 32.

[3] *perutilis*] So MS.; periculis, Wharton.

[4] This chapter also agrees very closely with John de Schalby, Appendix (E.) *infra.* Bloet died Wednesday January 10, 1123; See Chron. Sax.; and Obituar. Linc., Appendix (B.) *infra.* Alexander was appointed to succeed him at Easter, and consecrated July 22 of the same year; Chron. Sax., and Hen. Hunt. (219 l. 3, Savile).

[5] *quatuor*] According to Tanner, the four monasteries were the Cistercian houses of Louth Park, Lincolnshire, and Tame, Oxfordshire; the Gilbertine priory of Haverholm, Lincolnshire; and the house of Austin canons at Dorchester, Oxfordshire.

[6] *Tria*] The three castles were Newark, Sleaford, and Banbury. There are considerable remains yet of his work at Newark.

[7] *fideliter*] So MS.; firmiter, Wharton.

[Cap.] XXIII.[1]

De Roberto de Cheineto.

Robert de Chesney, 1148–1166. Alienated church lands. Also four churches and one prebend to Sempringham. Lost St. Alban's,

Successit Alexandro Robertus de Cheineto,[2] seu Querceto, vir generosus, natione quidem Anglicus, sed cognatione Normannus. Hic terras quasdam alienavit; quasdam neptibus suis nuptui dandis cum scandali nota donavit. Ad hæc etiam ecclesias de maneriis suis quatuor, quas decessores sui clericis capellæ suæ dabant, et unam præbendam,[3] ordini de Semplingeham in perpetuum donando, ecclesiam Lincolniensem et successores suos non mediocriter damnificavit. Item Sanctum Albanum amisit:[4] cum tamen tanta familiaritate monasterium illud ecclesiæ Lincolniensi junctum fuisset, quod

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[1] With this chapter again John de Schalby agrees closely, so far as he goes; Appendix (E.) *infra.* He has nothing about St. Alban's, about the decrease of the diocese under the two bishops Robert, or about Chesney building episcopal houses at Lincoln.

[2] Hen. Hunt. tells us that Alexander died about the beginning of Lent 1148 (Savile, 226). Ash Wednesday that year was on February 24. The exact day of his death, February 20, is given us in the Obit. Linc.; which has, under 10 kal. March, "Eodem die θ Alex-" ander, hujus sedis episcopus ter-" tius;" Appendix (B.) *infra.* Robert de Chesney was consecrated December 19 of the same year; Gervase (1365, Twysden).

[3] Robert de Chesney founded the Gilbertine house of St. Catharine without Lincoln. In Henry II.'s confirmation charter (Dugdale), the four churches are said to be Newark, Norton, Marton, and Newton, and the prebend that of Canwick. This house stood a short distance outside the South Bar of Wigford, to the right of the road to Newark. Nothing of it remains.

[4] Chesney deserved no blame in this matter; he did what he could, but he could not prevent the independence of St. Alban's. This had been ordained by pope Adrian IV. (Nicholas Breakspeare), who was a native of the territory of St. Alban's, and whose father was a monk of this house for more than fifty years; and it had received the assent of Henry II.; *Gest. Abb. S. Albani* (i. 112, 124, &c., 150, &c., Riley). These *Gesta* (157) place the hearing of the cause between the bishop and abbot, before the king, when all was settled, in March 1163. The final concord, whereby the bishop renounces episcopal power over St. Alban's, is in Wendover under A.D. 1162 (ii. 293, &c., Coxe).

abbates ejusdem plerique in ecclesia Lincolniensi præbendati extiterant. Manerium tamen decem librarum, cui nomen Stanrige,[1] a monasterio Sancti Albani quasi in compensationem[2] suscepit. Idem etiam in trecentis libris erga Aaron Judæum ecclesiam suam obligavit. Crevit ergo diocesis Lincolniensis per Remigium; sed decrevit enormiter per Robertum et Robertum. Cunctas tamen cathedrales adhuc regni totius ecclesias, septem comitatus et dimidium in se continens terræ populosæ, et præter varios personatus alios septem vel octo archidiaconatus habens, longe lateque diocesis amplitudine vincit. Ergo non dormitabit deses neque dormiet, qui bene custodiet illam. Mercatus tamen nonnullos, et nundinas perutiles hic acquisivit; et unam præbendam adjecit. Domos quoque de Veteri Templo[3] Londoniis ecclesiæ suæ comparavit. Et domos episcopales, cum terra[4] quoque ubi sitæ fuerant comparata,[4] sumptibus magnis, Lincolniæ fecit.

receiving the manor of Stanrige in recompense.

Debt of 300*l.* to Aaron the Jew.

Extent of diocese of Lincoln.

40.

His benefactions. Fairs, &c.

The Old Temple in London.

New palace at Lincoln.

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[1] *Stanrige*] The manor received by the bishop in compensation is called Tinghurste by Wendover (ii. 294); Tynhurste in *Gest. Abb.* (i. 155, 156). In the *Val. Eccl.* of Henry VIII. (iv. 3), Tyngehurst, Bucks, is a manor of the bishop of Lincoln, and valued at 12*l.* 6*s.* 11*d.* per annum.

[2] *compensationem*] MS.; compensatione, Wharton.

[3] Henry II.'s charter is in Dugdale (No. liv), confirming to bishop Chesney "domos quæ fuerunt fra-"trum Templi in Londoniis, in pa-"rochia S. Andreæ de Holeburne, "cum capella, et gardinis, et omni-"bus earum pertinentiis; quas idem "Robertus de Kaineto Linc. epi-"scopus c. marcis emit de fratribus "Templi; reddendo inde eisdem "fratribus Templi annuatim tres "aureos pro omni servicio." This not later than 1162, as Thomas the chancellor is one of the witnesses.

[4] *terra . . . . comparata*] MS.; terris . . . . comparatis, Wharton. Giraldus is right as to the site of the palace at Lincoln having been procured from Henry II. by Chesney, though this is not mentioned by John de Schalby; see No. LV. of Lincoln Charters in Dugdale. But he is probably wrong in saying that Chesney built any episcopal houses at Lincoln. These, he says below (p. 41), agreeing with John de Schalby, were begun by Hugh of Burgundy.

[Cap.] XXIV.[1]

De electo Gaufredo.

Geoffrey, elect, 1173 –1182. Son of Henry II. Redeemed the ornaments of the church, in pledge with Aaron the Jew. Other benefactions.

Huic autem, ad regimen ecclesiæ Lincolniensis, multis episcopio prius annis[2] in fiscales abusus enormiter usurpato, successit Gaufridus[3] electus, regis Henrici secundi filius, de archidiacono Lincolniensi, patre procurante, ad ejusdem sedis cathedram sublimatus. Hic autem inter ipsa initia ornamenta ecclesiæ suæ, quæ in libris argenti trecentis apud Aaron Judæum decessor suus obligaverat, redimendo statim adquietavit. Et ipse quoque ornatus ecclesiæ suæ plurimum propriis

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[1] The first part of this chapter, down to "viriliter recuperavit," agrees closely with John de Schalby, Appendix (E.) *infra*. The latter, however, has no mention of Geoffrey promoting noble and learned men in his church.

[2] According to the 12th century Lincoln Obituary, which we must believe before any and all other authorities, bishop Chesney died on 6 Kal. January, *i.e.* December 27; Appendix (B.) *infra*. From Robert de Monte (Migne, tom. 160, 502 D) we gather, with perfect certainty almost, that Chesney died some short time before Lent of 1167. The day of his death, therefore, was December 27, 1166, many years, as our author says, before the election of a successor.

Hoveden (i. 269, Stubbs) places his death on 6 Id. January 1167, probably writing "Id." by mistake, instead of "Kal." Diceto (547, l. 36, Twysden), places it on 7 Kal. February (January 26) 1167. William of Newburgh (i. 146, English Hist. Soc.) says that he died in the 14th year of Henry II., *i.e.* after Dec. 19, 1167. This later date agrees better with what the author of the *Mag. Vit. S. Hugonis* (p. 103) says, as to the 15 years between the death of Chesney and the consecration of Walter de Coutances in 1183: but I have now no suspicion, such as I there expressed in n. 7, that the true date of Chesney's death was in January 1168. No doubt whatever, it now seems to me, he died December 27, 1166.

[3] Geoffrey, an illegitimate son of Henry II.,—a son by some early mistress, and born before Henry's accession to the throne of England, —was elected to Lincoln in 1173; Diceto (568, 30, Twysden). The papal dispensation, on account of his youth and illicit birth, having been obtained, the election was confirmed by the archbishop of Canterbury, at Woodstock, July 9, 1175; and on August 1 Geoffrey was received with solemn procession at Lincoln; Diceto (586, 64, &c.), Ben. Abb. (i. 93, Stubbs).

donariis amplificavit. Cui et inter cetera quoque campanas duas grandes, egregias, atque sonoras, devota largitione donavit. Nobiles quoque personas, literatosque viros, in ecclesia sua plerosque plantavit; terras quoque nonnullas, antea perditas, viriliter recuperavit. Idem,[1] in werra illa magna, quam regi Henrico filii legitimi pravorum consilio suscitaverant, vere filius 41.
naturalis, quoniam patri naturaliter adhærens et fideliter assistens, castella Rogeri de Mumbrai fortiter expugnando, Scottorumque regem Willielmum a borealibus regni finibus refugando viriliter et repellendo,[2] remotiores Norhumbriæ fines egregie pacificavit. Unde et quoniam, innata strenuitate, patri circa dies extremos pernecessarius videbatur, ipso procurante, Lincolniensem ecclesiam sponte resignavit;[3] et cancellariam regis cum terris magnis tam in Anglia quam transmarinis[4] a patre suscepit. Et sic, ingruentibus circa finalia tempora per legitimos incommodis multis, contra Francos, contraque fratres, patri usque ad extremum ejusdem halitum egregie militavit. Quo defuncto, in metropolitanam Eboracensis ecclesiæ sedem est sublimatus.[5]

A true natural son, in aiding his father.

Takes castles of Roger de Mowbray, and drives back William of Scotland.

Resigns Lincoln.

Made chancellor.

His services to his father, in his last days.

Archbishop of York.

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[1] John de Schalby has nothing corresponding to the remainder of this chapter.

[2] This was in 1174. Giraldus gives a fuller account of these exploits of Geoffrey, in the *De Vita Galfridi* (Anglia Sacra, ii. 378, &c.). He stands alone, I believe, in attributing to Geoffrey any direct part in the repulse of the Scottish invasion and the capture of William of Scotland.

[3] In 1181 the pope insisted upon his resignation, or immediate consecration. He accordingly resigned, January 6, 1182; Ben. Abb. (i. 271), Diceto (613, l. 3, &c.). Diceto here describes him as having held the bishoprick seven years; reckoning, no doubt, from the time of the confirmation. John de Schalby also says that he was bishop elect of Lincoln for seven years.

[4] The rents of which amounted to 500 marcs in England, and 500 marcs in Normandy; Ben. Abb. (i. 272).

[5] He was elected to York in 1189, and was consecrated August 18, 1191.

[CAP.] XXV.[1]

De Waltero Constanciensi.

Walter de Coutances, 1183–1184. Successit autem electo Walterus, de Constanciis dictus, sed revera de Corinei[2] domo Cornubiaque natus, et nobili Britonum gente ac Trojana stirpe originaliter propagatus; vir affabilis et liberalis, literarumque studiis affatim eruditus, et in secularibus curiæque negotiis prudens admodum et discretus. Unde et regis aliquamdiu tam consiliarius quam archisigillarius existens, eodem procurante ad sedem Lincolniensem est vocatus.[3] Ubi tantum annuus existens, iterum rege procurante, ut in consiliis suis et arduis negotiis propius eidem assisteret, ad principalem Normanniæ cathedram et metropolitanam Rothomagensis ecclesiæ sedem est translatus.[4] In uno tamen Lincolniensem ecclesiam graviter

His character, &c.

42\. Bishop of Lincoln only for a year. Archbishop of Rouen.

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[1] This about Walter de Coutances agrees in substance with John de Schalby's account of him, but is somewhat more amplified.

[2] *Corinei*] So MS.; Cormei, Wharton. John de Schalby has simply, "De Constantiis dictus, sed "revera de Cornubia natus;" and he has not the *et nobili Britonum . . propagatus* of Giraldus. This descent from Corineus, the fabulous Trojan immigrant into Cornwall, is probably a mere amplification of Giraldus's pen upon his original.

[3] Walter de Coutances was elected, at Lincoln, on the third Sunday after Easter, May 8, 1183; Diceto, (615, l. 16, &c., Twysden). He was ordained priest, by John bishop of Evreux, on Saturday in Whitsun-week, June 11; *ibid.* (l. 30). And he was consecrated by the archbishop of Canterbury, at Angers, on the fourth Sunday after Pentecost, July 3; *ibid.* (l. 33, and 692, ll. 50–58). On the third Sunday in Advent, December 11, 1183, he was enthroned at Lincoln; *ibid.* (618, l. 48), and Ben. Abb. (i. 307, Stubbs).

[4] He was elected archbishop of Rouen in 1184, in presence of Henry II.; and therefore before June 11, when Henry landed in England; Diceto (618, l. 61, &c., 619, l. 8). According to the *Rouen Chron.* (Labb. i. 369), he was enthroned at Rouen on St. Matthias's day, February 24, 1185. Diceto says (626, l. 1, &c.), that a year, eleven weeks, and five days had elapsed between the enthronement at Lincoln (December 11, 1183) and that at Rouen. His xi. weeks is probably a mistake, or misprint, for x.; which would exactly agree with February 24 of the Rouen Chronicle.

læsit, totumque capitulum non mediocriter offendit; unde et vir præclarus magnam in gloria sua maculam posuit; quod ecclesias illas, quas prædecessor ejusdem Robertus de Querceto quondam ut diximus alienaverat,[1] in ipso decessu suo ordini de Semplingeham, quacunque gratia seu beneficio præveniente vel subsequente, cartarum suarum et sigilli munimine perpetua stabilitate roboravit.

Confirmed the alienations of churches to the order of Sempringham.

[Cap.] XXVI.[2]

De Hugone Burgundiensi.

Successit autem Waltero Hugo, de Burgundia natus, ingenuis de ordine militari natalibus ortus. Hic a juvenilibus annis honestati et religioni datus, ne per lubricum ætatis in lapsum rueret, arctissimis Cartusiensis[3] observantiæ regulis se mancipavit. Unde transmissus postmodum prior in Angliam in cellula de Witham,[4] regis Henrici secundi, qui forestam ubi sita

Hugh of Burgundy: 1186–1200.

A Carthusian monk.

Prior of Witham. In favour with Henry II.

[1] There is no mention here of the prebend of Canwick, also given by Robert de Chesney to the Gilbertine house of St. Catharine (*supra*, 34). A confirmation of this to them by Hugh of Burgundy, in which they are called the canons of the hospital of Lincoln of the order of Sempyngham, is in the *Liber Cantariarum* (f. 397, MS. Lincoln). This charter of Hugh says that Robert de Chesney's gift of the prebend was made with the assent of the chapter of Lincoln.

[2] In this chapter, of course, there is no longer the agreement hitherto existing between Giraldus and John de Schalby. This account of Hugh,—though very possibly somewhat altered in the revised treatise sent to archbishop Langton years after Hugh's death, the only form in which it has come down to us,—was no doubt written in Hugh's life-time (*infra* 42, n. 2). Schalby's account would be taken from the entry in the Lincoln Martirology, made after Hugh's death.

[3] *Cartusiensis*] So MS.; Cantuariensis, Wharton. Hugh was a member of the Great Chartreuse, near Grenoble.

[4] Hugh came into England as prior of Witham in 1175, or very near upon that year; *Magna Vita*, Preface, xxi., &c. Witham, Somersetshire, was the first Carthusian house in England, and had shortly before been founded by Henry II.

Bishop of Lincoln. His resistance to 43. secular exactions. His zealous execution of his duties. His benefactions.

est cellula venandi studio frequentare, locumque ea occasione atque priorem visitare consueverat, familiaritatem in brevi et favorem adeptus, in Lincolniensi ecclesia est sublimatus.[1] Hic igitur in primis, justitiæ cultor rigidus existens, nec aulicis, vel curialibus, aut publicis officialibus, in ecclesiam aut clerum grassantibus ut solent, vel in modico deferebat. Quicquid honestati, quicquid religioni, quicquid ecclesiæ suæ proficuo vel honori prodesse videbat, totum effectui mancipare, totisque nisibus adimplere curabat. Communam ecclesiæ suæ egregiis largitionibus[2] amplificavit. Canonicas in certis perpetuisque beneficiis, terris videlicet et ecclesiis olim amissis quas recuperavit, duas adjecit; aliasque duas a decessoribus olim in denariis ex camera constitutas cancellavit.

Eynsham abbey.

Item monasterium de Egnesham, olim perditum ire[3] regia potestate paratum, viriliter retinuit; baculique pastoralis donationem sumptuosis laboribus, sed efficacibus et fructuosis, ad ecclesiam Lincolniensem revocavit.[4]

Rebuilds the choir of the church.

Item ecclesiæ suæ capicium[5] Pariis lapidibus marmoreisque columnis miro artificio renovavit, et totum a fundamento opere sumptuosissimo

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[1] Hugh was elected bishop of Lincoln about the end of May 1186, was consecrated September 21, and enthroned at Lincoln September 29. See *Mag. Vit.* 102, 114, and notes; and Ben. Abb. (i. 353, Stubbs).

[2] In the *Registrum Antiquissimum* (f. 195), in the record room of the dean and chapter of Lincoln, is a charter of Hugh, giving to the commons of the canons the churches of Ossington and Edwinstowe (Notts); and f. 196, a charter which gives the church of Welingo Were (Wellingore, Linc.), and another which confirms a gift of the church of Scredington (Linc.) by Ralph de Swaveton.

[3] *ire*] MS.; iri, Wharton.

[4] The suit about Eynsham was decided in Hugh's favour in 1197. See the *Mag. Vit.* 189–192, and notes.

[5] *capicium*] So MS.; capitulum, Wharton. This "capitulum," or chapter-house, of Wharton, has been a sore difficulty with architectural exponents of the history of the cathedral; the architectural details of the chapter-house pointing so plainly to a somewhat later time than that of Hugh of Burgundy. The true reading "capicium," *i.e.* the head, or east end of the church, removes all the difficulty; this was built by Hugh, and the chapter-house was not. See Glossary, *infra.*

novum erexit. Similiter et domos episcopales egregias construere cœpit,[1] Dominoque cooperante longe prioribus ampliores et nobiliores spe certa consummare proposuit. Item pallium illud Bloetinum et Alexandrinum, minus provide minusque circumspecte semel datum, et ob hoc[2] perpetuo debitum, saniori consilio depilavit: et tam interminabilem tantæ servitutis exactionem, per cartas regio sigillo munitas,[3] Lincolniensis ecclesiæ libertatem,
ac perpetuam, si regnet in terris fides, immunitatem 44.
protestantes, unica largitione delevit. Item personas egregias, literatura et honestate præclaras, per regni amplitudinem quasi studio quodam ad hoc electas, fideles ecclesiæ suæ columnas erexit; non sanguinem imprimis, ut ceteri, non sobolem, carnaliter sapiens; sed duce Spiritu, ac ratione prævia, literas potius et merita pensans. Item, cupiditatis omnis et ambitionis expers, ab omni munere, subjectorum gravamine et exactione potenter manus excutiens, adeo simoniæ laqueos, quibus hodie cuncti[4] fere majores irretiuntur, exhorruit,

Begins a new palace.

Redeems the payment of the mantle.

Promotes learned and good men.

His freedom from covetousness, &c.

His horror of simony.

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[1] See *supra*, p. 35, n. 4. John de Schalby says, "Aulam episco-"copalem egregiam inchoavit." There is no mention of this in the *Magna Vita*, or in any other authority.

The palace, thus begun by St. Hugh, was still unfinished in 1224. A writ of Henry III., December 30, 1223, directs the mayor and bailiffs of Lincoln to allow bishop Hugh de Wells to quarry stone for his house from the adjacent city foss; *Rot. Lit. Claus.* (Record Commission, 580). And another writ, April 29, 1224, bids Hugh de Nevill deliver to the bishop "40 fusta" from the forest of Sherwood, which had been given to him "ad trabes "et gistas ad aulam suam Lincol-"niensem faciendas;" *ibid.* (595). And so, John de Schalby tells us that the "aula episcopalis," begun by St. Hugh, and the kitchen (coquina), were sumptuously completed by Hugh de Wells. There are considerable, and very valuable remains, of the works of the two Hughs; those of the great hall, and of the kitchen, with its five chimneys, are especially worthy of remark.

[2] *hoc*] So MS.; hæc, Wharton.

[3] This was in 1194, according to Richard's charter of release, dated at Le Mans, June 23 of that year, as in the *Regist. Antiquiss.* of Lincoln (f. 27). Hoveden places it under 1195 (431 b., Savile).

[4] *hodie cuncti*] So MS.; cuncti hodie, Wharton.

ut sponte oblata plerumque donaria, ne sinistræ suspicionis ulla suboriri nota valeret, ex consuetudine recusaret; etiam ad antidora teneri, et vel mentaliter ac naturaliter obligari, plurimum cavens. Sed quid per singula curro? Tot bonitatis et probitatis ejusdem, tot virtutis et honestatis indiciis tam insignis enituit, ut tanquam unica suis diebus Anglicanæ ecclesiæ columna, singulareque speculum divine[1] repercussione luminis elucescens, et propemodum in omnibus non petere exemplum sed dare dignus existens, inter Lincolnienses antistites usque ad sua jam tempora post beatum Remigium merito primus et præcipuus, si principio finis assenserit,[2] habeatur. Utinam, ergo, talarem indutus tunicam, quæ tam laudabiliter inchoavit felici fine concludat, et in anteriora se constanter extendens et non respiciens, operam adhibeat, opemque divinam ad hoc exposcat, quatinus vitæ commendabilis cursus

Alone, in his excellencies, amongst the bishops of England.

45. The author hopes that his good beginnings will have a good ending.

"Primo ne medium, medio ne discrepat imum;"

Hor. A. P., 152.

sed quanto fini affinior, tanto ad finem Christum amplioribus virtutum passibus, et elegantioribus bonorum operum studiis, fervente caritate non frigescente, de die in diem magis accedat.

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[1] *divine*] Wharton reads "divi-"næ;" which must be wrong, unless Giraldus, or his scribe, intended "lucis" to follow, and put "lu-"minis" by mistake instead. *Divine*, the adverb, is not actually senseless, and therefore I retain it; but perhaps "divini" would be the right reading.

[2] This, with what follows, proves conclusively that this account of St. Hugh was written in Hugh's life-time; though, of course, it may have been somewhat altered or added to, in the edition afterwards presented to archbishop Langton.

[Cap.] XXVII.[1]

De episcopis Angliæ tergeminis. Et primo de Thoma Cantuariensi, et Henrico Wintoniensi.

Quoniam autem de Lincolniæ prælatis, nullum prætereundo,[2] per ordinem disseruimus, de Anglicanis consequenter nostri temporis episcopis; non omnibus quidem, quia dispendiosum et longum esset, sed paucis ad modum et potioribus; aliqua forsan memoratu digna dicemus. Singulorum autem quos novimus et vidimus dum mores et modos mente recolimus propensiore, certatim occurrere videntur tergemini quasi sub copula triplici, longe præ ceteris omnibus præconiali laude dignissimi. In hoc autem senario, per triplicem binarium ordinate distincto, duo concurrunt, sicut tempore primi, sic[3] præ ceteris moribus et sanctitate conspicui; Thomas Cantuariensis, et Henricus Wintoniensis. Erant enim hi duo contemporanei, sed non coævi. Ultima[4] namque Wintoniensis tempora Cantuariensis

The author proceeds to the more praiseworthy of the bishops of the time.

These, six in number, to be described in three pairs. 46.

The first, Thomas of Canterbury and Henry of Winchester.

[1] Wharton (*Ang. Sac.* ii. 420, &c.) prints the three last chapters of the *Vita S. Remigii* as a separate treatise, under the title "Giraldi Cam-" brensis Copula Tergemina, seu "De Vitis sex episcoporum coæ-" taneorum;" though he prefixes to them cap. xxvii., xxviii., and xxix., and had included all in one treatise in his table of chapters (p. 409). He takes the title "Co-" pula Tergemina" from the preface *supra* (p. 4), or from the *De Jure, &c.* (vol. iii. 360): in the latter instance, Giraldus speaks of the "Copula tergemina" as a part of his *Legenda S. Remigii.*

[2] *nullum prætereundo*] From hence it appears, that this "Copula" tergemina" was part of this treatise as it first appeared in Hugh's life-time. In the preface to the treatise, as afterwards presented to archbishop Langton (*supra*, 5, n. 5), Giraldus describes it as containing the lives of all the bishops of Lincoln, with the exception of the last bishop only, viz. William de Blois (1203–1206).

[3] *sic*] So MS.; sic et, Wharton.

[4] *Ultima, &c.*] Hence, to the end of the section, *lucere recusans*, is repeated word for word in the *De Jure, &c.* (vol. iii. 359).

Henry de Blois, nephew of Henry I., and brother of Stephen, was consecrated bishop of Winchester November 17, 1129, and died August 8, 1171. The Winchester Annals (p. 60, Luard) speak as highly of him as our author. The Clugniac chronicles also, as in

incathedrati videre prima, et doluere postrema. Unde, audita morte martyris, et modo mortis, sacrum os statim in hæc verba resolvit: "Per ordines,"[1] inquit, "Dei vere martyr, et verus ac magnus martyr est "iste. Sed ecce quemadmodum juvenes cœlum rapi- "unt: et nos miseri senes quid hic moramur inu- "tiles?" Et tamen cum ille in fine Decembris, sicut notum est satis, gladiis impiorum occubuerit, immo verius ad cœli palatia transvolaverit, "Justus enim si "ceciderit non collidetur, quia Dominus supponit "manum suam," iste Septembri[2] sequente, plenus dierum et bonorum, rebus humanis exemptus est, tanquam sine socio diutius in terris subsistere tædium ducens, et absque compari stella amplius in tenebris lucere recusans.

Ps. xxxvi. 24.

47. Ut autem specialiter aliquid de ipso dicamus, illud[3] imprimis quod ad utrumque, tam ipsum scilicet quam Cantuariensem illum, æque pro parte referri potest, explicabimus. Quoniam[4] ergo Wintoniensis inter episcopos Angliæ[5] quasi subdecanus existens, decano episcoporum, Londoniensi[6] scilicet, ante promotionem Thomæ Cantuariensis rebus humanis exempto, munus ei consecrationis impendit. Statim,[7] hoc completo, dixisse memoratur; "Frater carissime, duorum optio-

Henry, as subdean amongst the bishops, there being no dean in vacancy of see of London, consecrated Thomas. His option to Thomas,

Raine's Hexham (p. 146, note *m*, Surtees Society). See, however, the *Liber de Hyda* (Introduction, p. xlvii, &c.).

[1] *Per ordines . . . quemadmodum*] This is an addition in the margin, but apparently in the same hand as that of the MS. itself. It is in the *De Jure, &c.*

[2] *Septembri*] A mistake for August.

[3] *illud . . . . imposuisse. Item*—beginning of next section, p. 45 *infra.*] This passage, in the MS., is on the first side of an after-added smaller leaf, now paged 47; in smaller writing, but by a very similar if not the same hand as that of the original MS. The reverse of this leaf, p. 48, is blank. This section is also in the *De Jure, &c.* (359).

[4] *Quoniam*] So MS.; Quum, Wharton.

[5] *Angliæ*] After this, "Cantua- "riensis ecclesiæ suffraganeos" is added in the *De Jure, &c.*

[6] Richard, bishop of London, died May 4, and Thomas was consecrated June 3, 1162.

[7] *Statim*] So MS., and *De Jure, &c.*; et statim, Wharton.

" nem nunc tibi do, et tanquam ludum partitum tibi " constituo; aut summi Regis gratiam proculdubio " perdes, aut terreni." Noverat enim regis Henrici secundi naturam, ecclesiasticæ libertati ex toto contrariam. Quo dicto, sic illico Thomas oculos et manus ad cœlum levando subjunxit: " Et ego, Deo opitu- " lante, viresque mihi ministrante, hanc partem fir- " miter eligo, quod nunquam pro terreni regis amore " seu favore[1] gratiam et favorem summi Regis amit- " tam." Hanc etiam optionem pariter et sponsionem uterque lacrimarum profusione, et consecrator quoque dextræ manus benedictione confirmavit. Proinde et audito transitu martyris tam eximio et tam insigni, " Deo," inquit, " summo Patri gratias intimas ago, " quod datum est mihi tanto viro manus consecra- " tionis imposuisse."

and Thomas's reply.

Item Henricus iste, merito magnus ac magnificandus, et tam animi quam atavi nobilitate præclarus; Anglorum quippe regis Henrici primi ex sorore nepos extiterat, et nobilissimi Blesensis illius Theobaldi frater, et Stephani filius, Stephanique regis Angliæ frater tam uterinus quam germanus; hic, inquam, quicquid in bestiis, quicquid in avibus, quicquid in monstris terrarum variis, peregrinum magis et præ oculis hominum vehementius obstupendum et admirandum audire vel excogitare potuerat, tanquam innatæ nobilitatis indicia congerebat. Præterea opera mira, palatia[2] sumptuosissima, stagna grandia, ductus aquarum difficiles, hypogeosque varia per loca meatus, denique ea quæ regibus terrarum magnis difficillima factu visa sunt hactenus et quasi desperata, effectui mancipare tanquam facillima

46. Henry's illustrious descent. 49.

His collection of wild beasts.

His sumptuous palaces, ponds, aqueducts, &c.

[1] *seu favore*] This not in the *De Jure, &c.*

[2] *palatia, &c.*] The Winchester Annals (p. 51, Luard) say, under A.D. 1138, "Hoc anno fecit Hen- " ricus episcopus ædificare domum " quasi palatium cum turri fortis- " sima in Wintonia, castellum de " Merdona, et de Fernham, et de " Wautham, et de Duntona, et de " Tantona."

His great political influence. Through him Stephen taken and imprisoned, and restored to the throne.

mira magnanimitate procurabat. Ad hæc etiam in manu ipsius regni tranquillitas et turbatio fuit. Fratrem ejusdem regem Stephanum, ab ejus gratia quandoque desertum, statim fortuna deseruit, et captum apud Lincolniam[1] in publico conflictu carceri retrudendum dedit. Qui tamen in brevi, restitutus ad gratiam continuo nobilis antistitis, fratris afflicti naturali pietate miserti, armis et animositate liberatus, miro commercii commutandique modo rege pro comite dato, cum plena pristini honoris integritate regnum simul et sceptrum recuperavit. Unde papa Eugenius
50. de hoc antistite dicere consueverat; "Hic ille est ille, "qui potuit lingua sua duo regna corrumpere; in "cujus erat potestate ad nutum creare potentes et "evertere." Et tamen a curia Romana Angliæ totius legationem[2] adeptus, archipræsulum aliquamdiu supercilia premens et dejiciens, cunctorumque fere majorum in insula superbiam calcans, regnique colles incurvans et tumorem explodens, ecclesiasticæ dignitatis honorem, justitiæque rigorem, tam indulta desuper potestate quam et innata nobilitate conservavit. Domos regias apud Wintoniam, ecclesiæ ipsius atrio nimis enormiter imminentes, regiæ Londoniensi non[3] qualitate non[3] quantitate secundas, quoniam cathedrali ecclesiæ cui præerat nimium vicinæ fuerant et onerosæ, vir animosus et audax funditus in brevi, raptim et subito, nacta solum temporis opportunitate, dejecit; et in majorem publicæ potestatis offensam, ex dirutis ædificiis et abstractis domos episcopales egregias sibi in eadem urbe construxit.

Papal legate.

Destroys the royal palace at Winchester, because too near the cathedral,

and uses the materials for his own houses.

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[1] The battle of Lincoln, when Stephen was taken prisoner, was fought February 2, 1141. Nine months afterwards he was released, in exchange for the earl of Gloucester.

[2] *legationem*] The Winchester Annals (p. 50, Luard) say that he exercised the office of legate in 1134. According to John of Hexham (p. 124, Surtees Soc.), he was confirmed as legate in 1139.

[3] *non . . non*] So MS.; nec . . nec, Wharton.

Licet autem mundano fastu, rerumque secularium vanitate[1] pariter et curiositate, tam,[2] prout videbatur, implicitus et involutus existeret, nihil tamen in mente superbum, nihil in vultu superciliosum, nihil in habitu vel gestu varium aut religioni dissonum, circa postrema sui præsertim tempora, præferebat. Quinimmo, Cluniacensis a puerilibus annis monachus existens, humilitatem ordini competentem, religionem, sanctitatem, et quo præcipue centesimi fructus coronam meruit, in tanta tam potestate quam sanguinis et stirpis nobilitate carnis virginitatem quoad interioria et mentis secretiora conservavit.

Still, especially at last, humble, religious, and saintly, as became a Clugniac monk. 51.

A virgin.

Item cathedralem ecclesiam suam palliis purpureis et olosericis, cortinis et aulæis pretiosissimis textis, philateriis, crucibus aureis massatis et argenteis, miro et exquisito artificio longe materiam exsuperante fabricatis et gemmatis, incomparabiliter et inæstimabiliter usque ad regum etiam[3] invidiam exornavit. Item cum audisset[4] presbyteros per diocesim suam, post multas commonitiones[5] et præceptiones de calicibus argenteis habendis, in stanneis passim celebrare, convocatis omnibus tanquam ad auxilium postulandum, dederat enim paulo ante quingentas marcas regi Henrico ad expeditionem Tholosanam,[6] significavit eis quod in calicibus argenteis, quibus restaurare vel ex parte damna posset[7] ecclesiis olim per werras suas irrogata, petebat sibi auxilium ferri. Quo promptissima a cunctis voluntate concesso, cum ad diem statutum singuli de singulis ecclesiis ad minus calices congererentur;[8] de

His benefactions to his cathedral.

His device to make his clergy use silver chalices instead of pewter ones in their churches.

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[1] *vanitate*] Wharton; vanite, in MS.

[2] *tam*] So MS.; tantum, Wharton.

[3] *etiam*] So MS.; not in Wharton.

[4] *cum audisset, &c.*] Hence to end of the section, *munus exegit*, is repeated in the *De Jure, &c.* (vol. iii. 357).

[5] *commonitiones*] So MS., and *De Jure, &c.*; commotiones, Wharton.

[6] The expedition to Tholouse was in 1159.

[7] *posset*] So MS., and *De Jure, &c.*; possit, Wharton.

[8] *congererentur*] So in *De Jure, &c.* (358); congerentur in MS.; congeruntur, Wharton.

plerisque nimirum ecclesiis opimis plures allati fuerant;
52. consecratis omnibus et benedictis, ad ecclesias unde venerant cunctos remisit, dicens; "Quæ Deo et officio "suo dare noluistis, mihi monacho minimo et peccatori "miserrimo dare parati fuistis: nunc autem saniori "consilio Deo donentur, et ejus obsequiis in perpetuum "mancipentur." Item alias,[1] ceteris per Angliam episcopis clericos et subditos suos creberrimis talliis et exactionibus præter modum onerantibus, convocatis clericis suis tanquam aliquid quod pecuniarum acervum augeret petiturus, post publicam et ultroneam communiter omnium concessionem nihil aliud ab ipsis quam orationum et missarum munus exegit.

His exactions from his clergy, &c., only prayers and masses.

Item hoc etiam sub silentio nequaquam prætereundum, sed quasi pro miraculo recitandum censui; quod ordines pio[2] patre apud Wintoniam celebrante, clericus quidam furtive inter alios accedens ad ordinem diaconii se impudenter ingessit, cum tamen publice sub anathematis interminatione prohibitum esset, ne quis nisi ascriptus et intitulatus accedere præsumeret. Qui cum[3] die statuto primum solemniter evangelium apud Geldefordiam legere deberet, quasi passione percussus obmutuit. Quod cum ei[4] etiam secundo contigisset, ad episcopum accedens, et ad pedes ejus die Pentecostes apud Wintoniam in processione se provolvens, cum lacrimis multis et singultibus rem gestam ei confessus est. Ipse vero eum ad pulpitum secum
53. ducens, toti populo quod acciderat[5] palam exposuit: et sic ei pœnitentia injuncta ibidem, de compunctione

The fraudulent recipient of deacon's orders.

The judgment upon him, at Guildford.

[1] *alias*] So MS.; aliis, Wharton. The *De Jure, &c.* has, "Idem "etiam, convocatis alia vice cleri-"cis suis, tanquam aliquid," &c., omitting the mention of the other bishops and their exactions.

[2] *pio*] So MS.; hoc, Wharton.

[3] This, down to *ligavit absolvit*, occurs again in the *Gem. Eccl.* (vol. ii. 147). Both treatises were composed during Giraldus's stay at Lincoln, 1196–1199; and I cannot say which follows the other.

[4] *ei*] Not in *Gem. Eccl.*

[5] *acciderat*] The *Gem. Eccl.* has "accederat."

ipsius plurimum confisus,[1] populique totius ad hoc orationibus adjutus, ordinis executionem divinitus ademptam [2] misericorditer illi præsul indulsit. Unde et die statim in eadem urbe a præsule statuto, et confluente urbis ad hoc spectaculum fere populo toto, facultas ei legendi evangelium est restituta. Et sic, pii patris officio, propriæque compunctionis merito, populi quidem supplicationibus adjuto, linguam ejus ad legendum, sanctumque evangelium Christi distincte[3] pronunciandum, virtus quæ ligavit absolvit. Præterea in senectute[4] bona jam constitutus, biennio ante obitum sanctum,[5] nihil omnino proprium retinens,[6] cunctas fere [7] possessiones suas in caritatis opera largiendo disperserat; quotidianam tantum refectionem,[8] tenuem admodum et exilem, vix sibi cum paucis [9] suscipiendo. Terras tamen ecclesiæ suæ et maneria cuncta, tanquam bonus et fidelis dispensator, non supervacuus dissipator,[10] posteris exemplum præbens, plena bonis et usque ad summum instaurata reliquit. Et sic in orationibus continuis, disciplinis quotidianis et crebris, ac [11] confessionibus et pœnitentiis, vitam hanc terminans, Cantuariensem, qui paulo ante præcesserat, rubris indutum roseisque coronis, puniceis coccineisque decenter ornatibus purpuratum, nive nitidior longeque lacte candidior, liliorum sertis undique septus, Wintoniensis feliciter est secutus.

Before his death Henry gave all his possessions to works of charity.

His good stewardship of the episcopal estates.

His continual prayers, &c., in his last days.

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[1] *confisus*] The *Gem. Eccl.* has "confessus."

[2] *ademptam*] The *Gem. Eccl.* has "adeptam."

[3] *distincte*] This not in *Gem. Eccl.*

[4] *in senectute*] Hence to end of section, *est secutus*, is repeated in nearly the same words in the *De Jure, &c.* (vol. iii. 355). Instead of *bona jam*, the *De Jure* has "bona "et sancta."

[5] *sanctum*] Instead of this the *De Jure* has "suum integro."

[6] *retinens*] The *De Jure* has, "penes se retinens."

[7] *fere*] The *De Jure* has instead, "propemodum."

[8] *refectionem*] The *De Jure* adds "suam."

[9] *paucis*] The *De Jure* adds, "cubiculariis monachis ac clericis "suis sive ministris."

[10] *non superv. diss.*] This not in the *De Jure*.

[11] *ac*] So MS., and *De Jure*; not in Wharton.

54. St. Thomas of Canterbury.

[1] Martyris autem nostri gloriam novis extollere titulis, post tanta ipsius et tam egregia a magnis viris scripta præconia, eique, cujus orbem lumen irradiat, laudibus [2] ut plus lucescat lucem præferre, præsumptuosum [3] esset et superfluum: quoniam ut ait Symacus, "Supervacanei laboris est commendare conspicuos; "ut si in sole positis facem præferas, et accensu "luminum claritudinem diei gestias adjuvare." Et alibi, "Probitate et honore pollentibus viris nihil "aliena addit oratio. Sua enim luce conspicui, pre- "cariis testimoniis non juvantur." Ne tamen in tanta materia penitus elingues reperiamur, quæ specialia magis ejus insignia et ab aliis intacta memoratuque digna magis occurrunt, sub compendio perstringemus. Viro igitur Deo plenissimo, et ob hoc in ecclesiæ ipsius cui præerat dignitate ac libertate tuenda constantissimo, præter [4] multiplex illud septennalis [5] fere exilii martyrium in multo mœrore, cilicio scilicet duplici, tam femorali quam corporali, in lectione et oratione continua, et omnium angustiarum gravissima, nec ætati parcente nec sexui, tam miserabili sanguinis universi proscriptione, ad consummabilem totius martyrii gloriam id totum accessit; quod ultroneus [6] ipse furibundis hostibus templi fores aperuit, et aperto
55. vertice gladiis occurrens, sacram vulneribus coronam

The author proposes to relate of him certain things untouched by former writers.

Remarkable circumstances of his passion.

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[1] Wharton prefixes the heading "De Thoma Cantuariensi." There is nothing of the sort in the MS.

[2] Wharton has a second "irra- "diat" after *laudibus*.

[3] *præsumptuosum . . . non juvantur*] This is repeated in the *De Jure* (vol. iii. 360).

[4] *præter multiplex, &c.*] Hence, to the middle of the next section, *novus martyr apparuit*, is taken, in nearly the same words, from the *Exp. Hib.* (vol. v. 260). It is repeated also in the *De Instr. Princ.* (p. 17); and, with the whole of the chapter, as in the early MSS. of the *Exp. Hib.*, in the *Symb. Elect.* (vol. i. 393).

The latter part of the next section, *Unde quidam . . luce videbant*, is also in late MSS. of the *Exp. Hib.*, interpolated probably by 14th century scribes from this treatise (vol. v. 261, n. 4).

[5] *septennalis*] Nov. 2, 1164, to Nov. 30, 1170.

[6] *ultroneus*] This not in *Exp. Hib.*, or *De Instr. Princ.*

obtendit; quod in ecclesia matre et metropolitana, et coram altari; quod a quatuor aulicis canibus, rabie plusquam canina furentibus, in corona, quæ clero potius signum protectionis esse solebat, quatuor vulnera suscepit,[1] et nullum extra; quod ea solum in parte, quæ passionem Christi significat, Christi miles et martyr insignis intrepide passus emicuit, felici commercio incorruptibilem pro corrupta coronam adeptus;[2] quod sacram Dominici Natalis hebdomadam suo quoque sanguine consecravit; et sicut primus Thomas quinta Natalem luce prævenit,[3] sic iste secundus, sacris ex nomine jam cessantibus, eundem numerum subsequenter implevit;[3] quod ille orientis lampas fuit, hic occidentis; quod ille nascenti ecclesiæ lumen dedit, hic senescenti; et sicut ille surgentis ecclesiæ fundamenta suo sanguine cæmentavit, sic iste suo diu fundatæ, tanquam[4] ruinosæ jam,[5] et tam senio confectæ quam vi tempestatum crebro concussæ, pristinum statum reformavit; et sicut ille fervens erat, fide fervente, sic iste non tantum fervens, sed et plus quam fervor fuit, jam refrigente;[6] et sicut ille, ut ecclesiæ substantiam erigeret, tortoribus[7] se cruentis exposuit, sic iste, ut ejusdem formam conservaret illæsam, gladiis occumbere non formidavit.[8] Cujus quoque triumphales tantæ gloriæ titulos hi duo versiculi sub compendio satis egregie comprehendunt; 56.

Compared with St. Thomas the apostle.

" Pro Christi sponsa, Christi sub tempore, Christi
" In templo, Christi verus amator obit."

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[1] *suscepit*] sustinuit in *Exp. Hib.*, and *De Instr. Princ.*

[2] *adeptus*] suscipiens in *Exp. Hib.*, and *De Instr. Princ.*

[3] *prævenit . . . . implevit*] St. Thomas, apostle, December 21; St. Thomas of Canterbury, Dec. 29.

[4] *tanquam*] So MS., *Exp. Hib.*, and *De Instr. Princ.*; et tanquam, Wharton.

[5] *jam*] So MS., &c.; not in Wharton.

[6] *refrigente*] So MS., *Exp. Hib.*, and Wharton; refrigescente in *De Instr. Princ.*

[7] *tortoribus*] To this Wharton adds " et cruciatibus," without any authority whatever.

[8] *formidavit*] So MS., *Exp. Hib.*, &c.; formidabat, Wharton.

Amongst his miracles, the before unheard-of restoration of lost members of the body. As in cases of loss of eyes.

De quo, inter varias ejusdem virtutes, illud præcipue spectabile memoriaque dignum occurrit, quod separatis membris et projectis inaudito more nova reposuit, et hac suæ novitate virtutis vere novus martyr apparuit. Unde quidam;

"Miratur rediisse virum[1] neutratus: ocelli
"Succedunt oculis, albus hic, ille niger."

Quia, ne causari malignitas posset eosdem oculos fuisse quos prius habuerant, non erutos ad plenum sed læsos, dati sunt minores et diversi coloris, miraculoque majori, quibus non minus in tenebris et nocte obscura quam clara luce videbant.

At Pontigny, in his exile.

The divine voice to him.

Unde et pauca, quæ circiter finem martyris insignis notabilia valde cognovi, et aliorum scriptis quæ legi nondum expressa reperi, hic apponere dignum duxi. Apud Pontiacum, ubi diutius exulans perendinavit, die quodam cum missam celebrasset, in qua more consueto se totum in lacrimas[2] effuderat, coram altari prostratus ut orationi vacaret, audivit vocem ei dicentem; "Thoma,[3] ecclesia mea gloriabitur in sanguine "tuo." Cui ille; "Tu quis es, Domine?" Et iterum audivit; "Ego sum Jesus Christus pater tuus." At ille; "Utinam, Domine, sic fiat, ut ecclesia tua glori-"ficetur in sanguine meo." Et ex illa semper hora mortem impavidus exspectavit.

57. His hearty meal off a pheasant the day of his death.

Unde, paulo antequam perimeretur, in crastino videlicet Innocentium, cœnanti eidem, et ex ave Phasidos avide comedenti, dixit ei monachus quidam commensalis ejus; "Domine, per Dei gratiam libentius solito "et hilarius vos hodie prandere videmus." Cui ille,

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[1] *virum*] So MS.; and so all the MSS. of the *Exp. Hib.* which I have seen, that contain the passage. But would not "visum" be the right reading? The false quantity is no objection, in a medieval metricist.

[2] *lacrimas*] So MS.; lacrimis, Wharton.

[3] *Thoma*] So MS.; Thomæ, Wharton.

sub modica quasi risus significantia; "Sic," inquit, "decet virum, qui ad Dominum suum vadit, lætum "esse." Et statim, circa vespertinam ejusdem diei horam, curiam archiepiscopi ministri Belial et cruenti carnifices intrarunt; primo quidem quasi pacifici et inermes sed minaces, postea vero, quia viri constantiam minis acerrimis et terroribus flectere non poterant, armati statim, cum multa lictorum sequela, furore repleti, ad tam enorme facinus perpetrandum sunt reversi.

The night before, tempted to escape from England.

Item, nocte proxima præcedente martyrium, cum archiepiscopus nocturnas horas et matutinas cum clericis suis et monachis cubiculariis in camera sua complesset, et ad fenestram quamdam quam aperiri fecerat extra prospiciendo diutius in oratione pariter et meditatione stetisset, tandem conversus ad suos, quæsivit ab eis quanta pars noctis adhuc restaret, et utrum ad portum de Santwiz, per vii. inde miliaria distantem, ante diem perveniri posset. Et cum responsum acciperet, quod magna pars noctis adhuc restabat, et quia[1] longe plus viæ ante diluculum ire quis posset, subjunxit
vir firmus et constans; "Fiat autem de me voluntas 58.
"Dei: quia Thomas in ecclesia cui præest divinæ "dispositionis eventum exspectabit." Audierat enim milites illos a rege transmissos minaciter applicuisse; ideoque præsumi potuit magnum in mente viri sancti inter rationem et sensualitatem conflictum fuisse. Suggessit enim sensualitas tam imminens mortis periculum, quamdiu facultas foret, modis omnibus declinandum: sed e diverso non amplius fugiendum, quinimmo pro domo Domini se murum opponendum usque ad sanguinis etiam effusionem, animæque pro ovibus donationem, ratio efficaciter persuasit. Vir etenim sanctus, septennali fere tam clibano decoctus quam camino purgatus, adeo in fide Christi et dilectione firmatus

Sandwich port, seven miles from Canterbury.

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[1] *et quia*] So MS.; atque, Wharton.

extiterat, quod vitam hanc in tædio, et mortem habebat in desiderio.

The dream of a monk in Palestine.

Item, Ierosolimitanis Palestinæ finibus, nocte eadem, monachus quidam vidit in somnis se quasi in cœlum raptum; ibique virum cum maximo totius curiæ cœlestis gaudio susceptum vidit et tripudio; cui cum ad dexteram suam cathedram insignem apponi Christus jussisset, Dominus ipse capiti suo coronam apposuit miro gemmarum et auri fulgore rutilantem. Monachus autem quasi ab angelo ductore cum quæsisset, quisnam esset ille cui tantus honor exhibebatur, responsum accepit quod Thomas erat Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, qui pro Christi ecclesia mortem perpessus in terris,
59. cum tanta victoriæ palma nunc triumphat in cœlis, et pro corona fracta in terris et corrupta tam gloriosam et incorruptibilem in cœlis per hanc figuratam jam suscepit. Cum autem hoc mane multis revelasset, notatus est dies, et nox scripto certæ notitiæ data. Et non longe post, cum primis peregrinis de Anglia venientibus, veritas eventus eidem, et aliis qui hæc audierant, tempori et horæ conveniens est declarata.

Revelation to a child of Guy de Brionne, in Devonshire.

Item, vespera eadem qua vir sanctus sceleratorum gladiis occubuit, in remotis insulæ Anglicanæ partibus, scilicet Devoniæ finibus, milite quodam, cui nomen Wido de Brionna, cum familia sua ad obsonium sedente et epulante, puer quidam quasi septennis, herilis filius, qui coram mensa ludebat, ad patrem subito conversus in hæc verba prorupit; "Ignoras, pater, quod bonus "sacerdos jamjam morietur?" Ipse vero, et alii qui hoc audiebant, de capellano curiæ, qui cum aliis ad mensam sedebat, pueriliter dictum esse putabant. Et post pusillum, quasi circa medium prandii, recurrens puer ad patrem eadem verba pronunciavit, secuto omnium risu et ad capellanum præsentem verba jocosa referentium. Tertio quoque, statim cœna finita, ad genua patris puer occurrens, eisque cum lacrimis incumbens, "Pater," inquit, "bone, mortuus est sacerdos

" optimus, et jam nunc occisus. Nonne dolendum
" omnibus et lugendum ? " Major autem audientium 60.
pars jocandi adhuc cum capellano materiam inde su-
mebant. Pater vero et mater, propter verbum toties
a puero jam repetitum, rem taciti considerabant, et de
singulis secum cum admiratione conferebant. Licet
autem a Cantuaria remota plurimum sit hæc provincia,
fama tamen pernicibus alis infra septimum diem vel
octavum eo usque transvolavit. Unde statim a cunctis
qui hæc audierant magnificatus est Deus, qui pueri
junioris et innocentis spiritum ad hæc revelandum ea-
dem hora tam magnifice suscitavit.

The 7th or 8th day before the news of Thomas's death reached Devonshire.

Item die secundo vel tertio post facinus perpetratum
tam horribile, ad manerium archiepiscopi quod Mau-
linges dicitur, tanquam re bene gesta, hospitandi causa
diverterunt. Qui cum ad ignem post cœnam conse-
dissent, mensa principalis, ubi archiepiscopi comedere
solent, adeo se subito excutere cœpit, quod hernesium
eorum totum, sellas scilicet et clitellas, et cetera super-
posita, ad terram cum magno fragore dejiceret. Cum-
que servientes cum lumine statim accederent, valde
admirati sunt de excussione tali; cum tabula grandis
fuerit[1] et spissa, et firmiter etiam, sicut solent mensæ
dormientes, et immobiliter defixa. Post horam autem
modicam, iterum mensa eadem, cum excussione longe
majore et fragore, necnon et audientium terrore, super-
posita cuncta dejecit. Quo facto, prosilientes illico 61.
cum luminaribus tam milites quam ministri, scrutati
sunt cum diligentia, utrum aliquid sub mensa quod
hoc fecisset latitare valeret. Sed cum nihil invenirent,
dixit unus militum illorum quatuor ; " Tollite ab hinc
" sarcinas istas, quas ipsa quidem mensa sibi apponi
" reputare videtur indignas. In quo perpendere pos-
" sumus, quale jam opus perpetravimus."

The murderers at the archbishop's manor-house of Malling. The testimony of the archbishop's table against them.

[1] *fuerit*] So MS. ; fuerat, Wharton.

Speedy deaths of the murderers, &c.

Item hoc quoque pro miraculo habendum est magno, quod quatuor illi Sathanæ satellites cruentissimi, cum tota sequela sua ad facinus hoc perpetrandum, sicut et omnes fere martyris persecutores, morte in brevi sunt consumpti; et plerique eorum morte turpi, et tanquam ultione divina subita passione percussi. Ille vero, qui totius facinoris auctor fuisse creditur et machinator, non multo[1] post tempore miserum cum dedecore spiritum exhalavit.

Date of his death. In the 48th year of his age.

Occidit[2] autem hoc tritici granum, et in terram cadens multum fructum attulit, anno videlicet ortus sui xlviii°.,[3] consecrationis octavo,[4] exilii septimo, in fine Decembris felici bravio cursum finiens, veteremque vitam cum anno terminans et novam inchoans; ab incarnatione vero Domini M°C°LXXI°., præsidente Romæ Alexandro III°., imperante Fretherico, regnante in Francia Ludovico, in Anglia[5] Henrico II°. Unde Norwicensis Turbo;[6]

" Annus millenus centenus septuagenus
" Primus erat, primas quo ruit ense Thomas."

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[1] *non multo*] This is embellishment, rather than fact; as Henry II. lived more than eighteen and a half years after the martyrdom of St. Thomas.

[2] *Occidit, &c.*] This section had appeared before, in nearly the same words, in *Exp. Hib.* (vol. v. 262). It occurs again in the *De Instr. Princ.* (p. 18).

[3] *xlviii°.*] So also several of the MSS. of the *Exp. Hib.*, and one of these a very early and valuable one. But two other early and equally valuable MSS. of the *Exp.* have instead "quinquagesimo quarto," which would seem to be the right date. See vol. v. 262, *n.* 4.

[4] *octavo*] This is wrong. He was consecrated June 3, 1162; and December 29, 1170, was therefore in the ninth year of his consecration. The *Exp. Hib.*, and the *De Instr. Princ.*, have the same blunder.

[5] *in Anglia H. II°.*] This not in *Exp. Hib.*, or *De Instr. Princ.*

[6] *Unde Norwicensis Turbo*] Instead of this the *Exp. Hib.* has simply "Unde quidam." The *De Instr. Princ.* has, "Unde et a quo-" dam succincte satis et dilucide in-" carnationis Dominicæ tempus sic " expressum fuit."

Norwicensis Turbo is William Turbe or Turbo, bishop of Norwich 1146-1174. In the MS. of Gervase's Chronicle in the University library, Cambridge, as quoted in

[CAP.] XXVIII. 62.

De Bartholomæo Exoniensi, et Rogero Wigorniensi.

Fuerunt etiam eisdem temporibus duo in Anglia magni nominis episcopi, Bartholomæus[1] Exoniensis et Rogerus[2] Wigorniensis, ecclesiasticæ zelo justitiæ non immerito parificandi, religione quoque et honestate præclari. Erant enim quasi gemina candelabra, Britanniam totam fulgore suæ claritatis irradiantia. Unde et papa Alexander tertius duo magna luminaria Anglicanæ ecclesiæ dicebat hos esse. Quibus et omnium fere causarum per delegationem in Angliam suo in tempore transmissarum, de probitate ipsorum et bonitate confisus, commissiones faciebat. Erant enim, præter alia virtutum insignia, alter inter eruditos literarum disciplinis et eloquentia præclarus, alter autem inter generosos et regni primos utraque, gentis scilicet et mentis, nobilitate conspicuus. Exoniensis autem cuidam, qui se sciolum in decretis esse jactabat, unde et canones extollens, leges in quibus plus præcellebat episcopus verbis quasi parvi pendendo contemnebat, satis curialiter inquit; "Tanquam ex æquo dividamus; "ego leges, tu decreta; citius mihi auferrem leges,

Bartholomew bishop of Exeter, and Roger of Worcester.

Pope Alexander's high opinion of them.

Bartholomew a learned lawyer. His reply to a boastful canonist.

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the *Variantes Lectiones* at the end of Twysden's volume, is this passage; "Unde felicis memoriæ Wil-"lielmus Turbo Nordwicensis epi-"scopus, literis admodum eruditus, "volens beati martyris Thomæ an-"num passionis versifice designare, "ait,

"Annus millenus centenus sep-"tuagenus
"Primus erat, primas cum "ruit ense Thomas.
"Quinta dies Natalis erat. Flos "orbis ab orbe
"Vellitur, et fructus incipit esse poli."

[1] According to Professor Stubbs (*Episc. Succession*), Bartholomew was consecrated bishop of Exeter in 1162, and died December 15, 1184.

[2] Roger, base-born son of earl Robert of Gloucester, was elected bishop of Worcester in March 1163, consecrated August 23, 1164, and enthroned February 2, 1165; *Tewksbury Annals* (p. 49, Luard). He died at Tours, August 9, 1179; *ibid.* 52, and *Diceto* 604, l. 40.

"quam tibi concederem decreta:" alludens illi Ciceronianæ in Ermagoram invectioni, qui materiam rhetoricæ orationis usque ad philosophicas etiam quæs-
63. tiones, sicut in principio *Rhetoricæ de Inventionibus* legitur, nimis insolenter extendebat; per quod "Non "quid ars, sed quid ipse potuisset exposuisse videretur. "Nunc autem," ut ait Cicero, "ea vis est in homine, "ut ei multo citius rhetoricam quis ademerit, quam "philosophiam concesserit."

Cicero, *De Inv. Rhet.* i. 3.

His sermon in the council at Westminster.

Item, in concilio Cantuariensis archiepiscopi Ricardi apud Westmonasterium,[1] idem sermonem faciens, totum de statuis manu hominum factis, sæpius idipsum inculcando thema produxit. Similiter et Lundoniensis Gillebertus Foliot, de montibus virtutum ibidem loquens et montibus vitiorum, in illis dicebat, quia quo plus ascenditur et plus merito scandens sublimatur, in his vero quo plus proficit quis[2] eo plus deficit, quo plus ascenditur plus descenditur, et longe deorsum ascensor in deteriora dejicitur. Quoniam enimvero Ricardus ille, tantis in regno personis et tam validis longe non literatura solum, sed industriæ pariter et naturæ dotibus, ut videbatur, inferior, regia potestate præfectus fuerat, tactus utroque sermone subtiliter erat atque notatus. O quot hodie tales in ecclesia statuas erectas videmus, manibus hominum factas, et violenta quadam principum arte fabricatas! Sicut enim prius de causa cognoscendum quam judicandum, sic primo cognoscendus esset ad unguem, et post eli-
64. gendus. Hodie vero, ordine præpostero, sola voluntate non ratione vel necessitate commutato, statim proponitur eligendus, post electionem autem et consecrationem cognoscendus.

The bishop of London's sermon.

Both subtlely aimed against the archbishop of Canterbury.

[1] This council at Westminster under archbishop Richard was held on May 18, 1175; *Ben. Abb.* (i. 84, Stubbs); where the author names the bishops of Exeter and London as both present.

[2] *quis*] So MS.; omitted in Wharton.

Olim autem fiebat[1] electio pontificis expressa Dei vocatione, aut miraculi ostensione;[2] sicut Aaron, qui non sibi sumpsit honorem, sed vocatus a Deo, et miraculose approbatus indicio virgæ florentis, et incendio æmulorum, ut Choræ et complicum ejus. Nicholaus etiam[3] voce delapsa de cœlo declaratus; Mathias jactu sortium apostolus est institutus. Hodie, loco omnium istorum, successit canonica electio; cum scilicet, Deo auctore, magis literatum et honestum eligit ecclesia ministerio. Unde Dominus, "Faciam," inquit, "vos "fieri piscatores hominum," quasi Ego *faciam* auctoritate. Unde quem constituit Dominus super familiam suam, *vos*[4] *fieri*, canonica scilicet electione, ministerio ecclesiæ, *piscatores hominum*, qui laxent retia in capturam animarum non pecuniarum. Hodie vero, loco canonicæ electionis, in plerisque partibus successit intrusio principis, sub voce tamen electionis, vana et umbratili pronunciatione, ubi vox quidem solum auditur, nec voluntas attenditur.

The ancient mode of electing a bishop.

The modern canonical election.

Matt. iv. 19.

Or, in many parts, the royal intrusion instead.

Item incontinenti post sermones, recitante decreta concilii monacho quodam Benedicto nomine, qui tunc cancellarius erat archiepiscopi, et post abbas de Burgo,[5] cum Exoniensis quædam corrigenda monstraret, et ille obloqueretur et obstreperet, puta qui superciliosus suo modulo et arrogans erat, indignanter ad ipsum sermonem dirigens episcopus, "Minimus," inquit, "guber- "nator es ad tantam navem regendam, quanta est "tota Anglicana ecclesia;" manum ad hoc[6] circum-

Bartholomew's rebuke of Benedict, the archbishop's chancellor, afterwards abbot of Peterborough.

65.

[1] *fiebat, &c.*] Hence to the end of the section, *attenditur*, is repeated word for word in the *Gem. Eccl.* (vol. ii. 338).

[2] *ostensione*] So MS. and *Gem. Eccl.*; ostentatione, Wharton.

[3] *etiam*] So MS. and *Gem. Eccl.*; not in Wharton.

[4] *vos*] So MS. and *Gem. Eccl.*; hos, Wharton.

[5] Benedict, prior of Christ Church, Canterbury, and chancellor of the archbishop, became abbot of Peterborough in 1177.

[6] *hoc*] So MS.; hæc, Wharton.

ducens, et tot nobiles personas ibi utroque ex latere per ordinem sedentes ostendens. Et sic ad illum verba direxit; pro archiepiscopo tamen dicta satis intelligendum dedit.

He receives the confession of Wm. de Traci, one of Thomas's murderers. Who declared that Henry II. had bound them by oath to the perpetration of the murder. A circumstance corroborating this.

The king's oath to the contrary.

Item accidit, ut hac tempestate quartus satellitum Satanæ prædictorum, et quatuor illorum primus, cui nomen Willielmus de Traci, statim cæde perpetrata tam sacrilega, ad Exoniensem episcopum Bartholomæum, in cujus diocesi terras amplas habebat, accelerans, confessus est ei, quod ipse et socii sui tres, Reginaldus scilicet filius Ursi, et Ricardus Brito, et Hugo de Morwic,[1] arctati fuerunt a rege sacramento corporaliter præstito, quod de archiepiscopo Thoma modis omnibus id efficerent quod postea perpetrarunt. Facit ad hoc etiam, et argumentum inducit, quod prostrato trium illorum ictibus coram altari corpore sacro, quartum, qui nondum manum apposuit, acriter increpare tres cœperunt, ac si aperte dicentes, Fac et tu quod facere debes, et ad quod sicut et nos ex promisso firmiter et condicto teneris. Ille vero statim longe crudelius
66. ceteris in jam mortuum sæviens, gladii mucrone a capite cerebrum extrahere et per pavimentum spargere non abhorruit. Rex tamen in scrutinio de morte martyris, a cardinalibus Alberto scilicet et Theodino paulo post facto, sub sacramento asseruit, quod licet propter ipsum de archiepiscopo id factum forte fuerit, per ipsum tamen et voluntate ipsius nullatenus id factum fuisse. Verum quomodo res gesta fuerit, et tam actionis quam et passionis circumstantias, Illo teste et conscio qui non irridetur, finis utriusque, hinc gloriosus, inde ignominiosus, evidentissime declaravit. Dictus[2]

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[1] *Morwic*] So MS.; Norwic, Wharton. He is generally called Hugh de Morevilla.

[2] *Dictus, &c.*] This last clause is in the margin of the MS.; but in the same hand, apparently, as that of the text.

autem episcopus Exoniensis in illa opinione diu,[1] sicut alii plerique, prius extiterat, quod dicti milites illi, absque omni mandato præciso malitiam tantam exercendi, a rege discesserant. Sed ex quo dictus miles ei[2] locutus, ut dictum est, et confessus fuerat, quoties inde postmodum sermo fiebat, præcisum super hoc mandatum emanasse[3] . . . . .

Bartholomew's belief in his guilt.

Item accidit, eadem temporis urgente procella, quod rex a facie cardinalium fugiens de Normannia in Angliam, de Anglia in Walliam accelerans, in finibus Sancti David apud Penbroc, Milverdico scilicet portu, classe coacta, ut in Hiberniam transfretaret, solum auram prosperam et eurum exspectavit. Ubi Bartholomæus episcopus, transmenso[4] Sabrini maris brachio non modico, quod Walliam atque Devoniam interfluit, ad regem accessit; ibique manerium de Boseham[5] sibi et ecclesiæ suæ longe ante sublatum acquisivit. Ubi et inter cetera rex episcopo dixit; "Huc usque cardinales "vestri de Roma missi me transfugarunt; adhuc ulte-"rius; quoniam in Hiberniam, si mecum loqui volue-"rint, ad me venient." Tanquam non in Hibernia, sicut et in Anglia vel Normannia, divina vel etiam Romana potestas.[6] Quia,[7] "Quo ibo a Spiritu tuo, etc.? 67.

The king's flight into Wales.

Pembroke.

Milford Haven.

Where Bartholomew recovers the manor of Boseham to his church.

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[1] *diu*] Giraldus forgets that he has just before said, that it was immediately after the murder that William de Traci hurried to the bishop of Exeter, and made his confession.

[2] *ei*] So MS.; et, Wharton.

[3] *emanasse . . . .*] A word or two is wanting, such as "a rege asserebat," or something to this effect; cut off, in binding the volume, from the bottom of the leaf.

[4] *transmenso*] So MS.; transmerso, Wharton.

[5] *Boseham*] So MS.; Boreham, Wharton. Giraldus seems here to be wrong. Henry II. was in Wales, collecting his forces, and waiting for a wind for Ireland, in September and October 1171; but according to *Ben. Abb.* (i. 181, Stubbs), and Hoveden (324, l. 48, Savile), the restoration of Boseham to the bishop of Exeter was not until 1177. Possibly, however, a thing asked for and promised in 1171, may only have been actually granted in 1177.

[6] *potestas*] After this Wharton adds "dominetur."

[7] *Quia . . . nemine prosequente*] This omitted in Wharton.

Ps. cxxxviii. 7–9.

"Si ascendero in cœlum," et cetera; "Si sumpsero "pennas meas diluculo, etc." Et in Gigantomagia, juxta Ieronimum,[1]

"Quo fugis, Anchelade? Quascunque illaberis oras,
"Sub Jove semper eris."

Prov. xxxviii. 1.

Fugere namque possumus; sed a facie nec fugere quis potest, nec effugere. Et tamen "Fugit impius, nemine "persequente." Porro Illo providente, qui subsannat impios et irridet irrisores, et irridendos ac ridiculos reddit, in hac fuga et hiemali in Hibernia mora, tanta est regi a filiis et familiaribus, necnon et baronibus suis, interim in transmarinis orta seditio, quæ ipsum usque ad obitum ejusdem ærumnosum continue fere persequi non cessavit. Unde et cursu præpropero, longe magis quam cum fugitivus abscesserat, remensis terris plurimis, et æquore duplici, Hibernico scilicet et Gallico seu Normannico, transnavigato, propter dicta pericula propriasque causas in Normanniam est reversus. Ubi statim in primis cardinalibus, tanquam solum ob hoc adveniens, satisfacturus occurrit: quanquam tamen simulatorie magis ex parte ipsius quam vere, sicut ex post facto claruit, totum ageretur. Verumtamen, sicut Scriptura testatur "Non est sapientia, non est prudentia, "non est consilium contra Dominum."

The king in Ireland. The rebellion of his sons, &c.

His return into Normandy.

Prov. xxi. 30.

Roger of Worcester.

Præterea, in concilio Huguncionis[2] cardinalis, in Angliam legationis vice transmissi, apud Westmonas-

[1] Jerome has (Comment. in Is. xxvii. 1), "Pulchre quidam poeta in "Gigantomachia de Encelado lusit;

"'Quo fugis, Encelade? Quas-
"'cunque accesseris oras,
"'Sub Deo semper eris.'"

I do not find these lines in the Gigantomachia of Claudian; but a part of the poem, as printed, is lost.

[2] *Huguncio*] He is called "Hu-"gutio" by Gervase; "Hugozun," and "Hugheszun," by *Ben. Abb.* (i. 104, 112, Stubbs); "Hugezun" by Hoveden; "Hugo" by Diceto and William of Newburgh. The council at Westminster, under him as legate, was held on Midlent Sunday, March 14, 1176.

68. Council at Westminster under cardinal Hugutio. The riotous proceedings.

terium convocato et fere inchoato, sed tamen abortivo, cum inter archiepiscopos Cantuariensem Ricardum et Eboracensem Rogerum, in capella Sanctæ Katelinæ,[1] de primatiæ dignitate et primo cathedralis sedis honore, virgis, baculis, et pugnis allegatum fuisset, demum quoniam [2] Eboracensis, cujus in hoc conflictu pars debilior esse videbatur, regis ad genua prostratus in lacrimis ei querimoniam fecit, rege erga Cantuariensem et suffraganeos ejus ira præter modum ut videbatur accenso, Wigorniensis audacter in hæc verba prorupit; "Unde conqueritur ille? Portatus enim sicut "archiepiscopus, et in altum undique subvectus erat." Cui rex; "Male," inquit, "portatus fuit, cum capa "ejus tota fuerit ibi discissa." Et episcopus illi; "Domine, capa illa proculdubio decennalis fuerat, vel "etiam temporis diuturnioris. Unde si in turba con- "serta dilacerata fuit non mirandum, quia[3] per se "de cetero decidua proculdubio foret et defectiva:" parcitatis in archiepiscopum, vel etiam avaritiæ, notam intorquens. Et sic, ob elegantium verborum urbanitatem, rege in risum converso, in brevi subsequenter indignatio tota resedit.

Roger's explanation of the torn cope of the archbishop of York.

Revilers of the king, by Roger's suggestion, get well out of the scrape. 69.

Item, accusatis quibusdam in præsentia domini regis, quod indecentia de ipso et inhonesta dixissent, ad suggestionem episcopi ejusdem unus eorum facete subintulit; "Ea forsan diximus, et illa quidem minima "respectu illorum erant, quæ nisi vinum defecisset "dicturi eramus." Ad quæ[4] conversis in risum omnibus, et rege cum aliis in gaudium resoluto, imputatis ebrietati cunctis, immunes relicti sunt illi tam ab accusatione quam suspicione. Nullum enim misericordia magis et modestia quam principem decet. Unde et

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[1] *Katelinæ*] So MS.; Katerinæ, Wharton. For the edifying game at fisticuffs between the archbishops of Canterbury and York, see *Ben. Abb.* (i. 112, &c., Stubbs).

[2] *quoniam*] So MS.; quum, Wharton.

[3] *quia*] So MS.; quæ, Wharton.

[4] *quæ*] So MS.; quos, Wharton.

in jure humano sub principis persona scriptum est; "Si quis, modestiæ nescius, et pudicitiæ ignarus, im- "probo petulantique maledicto nomina nostra laces- "cenda crediderit, ac temulentia turbulentus obtrec- "tator nostrorum temporum fuerit, hunc[1] pœnæ "nolumus subrogari, neque durum aliquid nec asperum "sustinere: quoniam si id ex levitate processit, con- "temnendum est; et si ex insania, miseratione dig- "nissimum; si ab injuria, remittendum. Unde integris "omnibus hoc ad nostram scientiam referatur; ut ex "personis hominum dicta pensemus, et utrum præter- "mitti an recte exquiri debeant censeamus."

Fall of the west tower at St. Peter's, Gloucester, when Roger was celebrating.

Item contigit aliquando, præsule Rogero apud Gloverniam in monasterio S. Petri et[2] principali altari missam celebrante, turrem ecclesiæ amplam et altam, vitio fundamenti, subito ad terram ipsa confectionis hora corruisse. Et cum tantus fragor, et tam terribilis tantusque terræmotus propinque fuerit, quantus in
70. finibus illis nunquam antea vel visus fuerat vel auditus, adeo ut vix monachi perpauci in choro remansissent, vix ministri ad altare stetissent, fugientibus fere cunctis et latebras quærentibus, nihilque præter ruinam totius ecclesiæ certissimam exspectantibus, pius pater raptus interim ad aram illam sublimem, totusque suspensus in altum, tanquam nihil omnino ex his audisset, stetit intrepidus et immotus. Ad majorem etiam constantiæ virilis experientiam, et expertæ gloriam, tantus illico pulvis et tam densus, ex cæmate lapidibusque contritis, ecclesiam aliquamdiu totam implevit, quod nemo nedum videre vel oculos etiam aperire prævaluisset. Hoc etiam pro miraculo haberi potuit, quod cum multus sexus utriusque populus ad audien-

His intrepidity.

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[1] *hunc*] So MS.; not in Wharton.

[2] *et*] So MS.; coram, Wharton. There is no mention elsewhere, so far as I know, of this fall of the west tower at Gloucester in the time of bishop Roger.

dum præsulis missam convenisset, nemo tamen ex tanta ruina ibi læsionem ullam incurrit. Cum enim turris illa in ultima et occidua ecclesiæ parte stetisset, omnes ea hora tam mulieres quam mares versus altare principale propter benedictionem episcopalem[1] appropinquaverant, sicut pia fuerat Salvatoris dispositione provisum.

Miraculous flight of crucifix.

In hujus[2] etiam diebus, et episcopatu suo, vico scilicet cui nomen Straneweie,[3] quasi miliaribus duobus a monasterio de Winchelcumbe distante, cum presbyter parochialis, cui nomen Rogerus, vigilia Ascensionis[4] celebraret, in prolatione istorum verborum "Qui pridie" 71.
et cetera, crux quædam, Crucifixi vultum et imaginem præferens, major aliquantulum quam portatilis, ligno quod post altare se in utrumque parietem extendebat cuneis firmiter infixa,[5] se subito evellens et in volatum erigens, acuto ligni capite, quod sub pede Crucifixi se porrigebat, quæ demissior prius extiterat parum supportata parte inferiori præacuta, caput et coronam presbyteri tetigit. Et cum ad medium presbyterii pervenisset, versus altare se vertens, retro ad terram cecidit cum magno fragore resupina; capite versus introitum presbyterii, et pedibus ad altare porrectis. Celebrata vero missa, diaconus crucèm elevans eam in loco suo reposuit. Presbyter autem, statim episcopum[6]

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[1] *episcopalem*] So MS.; principalem, Wharton.

[2] *In hujus, &c.*] So MS.; Wharton has instead, "Hujus etenim die-" bus et episcopatu, in vico, &c." This miracle is repeated in the *Gem. Eccles.* (vol. ii. 109).

[3] *Straneweie*] So MS.; Stanewic, *Gem. Eccl.* Now Stanway, near Winchcomb, Gloucestershire.

[4] *vigilia Ascensionis*] Giraldus says below that this miracle occurred shortly before St. Thomas's martyrdom. The *Gem. Eccl.*, in introducing the miracle, says, "Con-" tigit anno martyrii beati Thomæ " Cantuariensis archiepiscopi." It was therefore on May 13, 1770; Ascension day, that year, falling on May 14.

[5] *infixa*] The *Gem. Eccl.* has "in-" fixo."

[6] *episcopum*] The *Gem. Eccl.* has " bonæ memoriæ Rogerum episco-" pum, comitis Gloverniæ filium."

adiens, rei eventum aperuit. Ipse vero, ut plurimorum testimonio certius super hoc instrueretur, quosdam de suis ad ecclesiam illam misit; quorum unus magister Sylvester dictus erat. Et inquisita veritate, totius parochiæ testimonio hoc verum fuisse didicerunt. Testati sunt etiam[1] presbyter et diaconus, quia tertia nocte post casum illum, iterum, cum summo diluculo ad ecclesiam venissent, crucem in eodem loco prostratam invenerunt. Quid autem hoc portendere debuerit Deo quidem notum, sed hominibus hactenus ignotum
72. extitit; nisi forte, quia parum ante martyrium beati Thomæ Cantuariensis antistitis illud acciderat, tantam Christi ecclesiæ jam[2] imminentem contumeliam, et Crucifixi injuriam, crux illa sic volans miraculose declaraverit.[3]

This shortly before S. Thomas's martyrdom.

Hoc etiam de ipso notabile censui, quia, cum circiter annos viginti[4] ecclesiæ Wigorniensi vel electus vel consecratus feliciter præfuisset, nullos omnino reditus aut in terris aut ecclesiasticis beneficiis ulli consanguineorum suorum dedit; Thomæ Cantuariensis in hoc vestigia sequens, qui in tanta sui tam cancellariæ potestate quam metropolitanæ dignitatis sublimitate, non "Syon ædificans in sanguinibus," *i.e.* ecclesiam in consanguineis, illos solum quos dignos reputabat, in his præcipue quæ Dei sunt, beneficiare dignum duxit: illud Ieronimi super Leviticum non ignorans, "Multa nos facere cogit affectus; et dum "corporum propinquitates respicimus, corporis et animæ "Creatorem offendimus:" et illud papæ Alexandri tertii, "Filios episcopis Dominus abstulit, nepotes vero "diabolus dedit."

Roger never conferred benefices, &c. on his relations. After the example of S. Thomas.

[1] *etiam*] So MS., and *Gem. Eccl.*; et, Wharton.

[2] *jam*] So MS., and *Gem. Eccl.*; tam, Wharton.

[3] *declaraverit*] The *Gem. Eccl.* has "declaraverat."

[4] *annos viginti*] He was bishop only sixteen years and a bit from the date of his election, and not quite fifteen from that of his consecration. See *supra*, p. 57, *n.* (2).

Bartholomew and Roger the only English bishops who adhered to S. Thomas.

Item hi duo, soli inter Anglicanos antistites, Exoniensis scilicet et Wigorniensis,[1] tempore exilii beati Thomæ gratiam ipsius obtinuerunt. Wigorniensis enim, patri compatiens, spontaneum interim in regno Francorum, urbe Turonensi, ubi et postmodum diem clausit 73.
extremum, exilium sustinuit. Qui nisi patre reconciliato prius ac restituto, si multis etiam vixisset annis, repatriare non proposuit. Exoniensis quoque patrem illico sequi parans, assensu ejusdem et voluntate potius in regno moram fecit; quatinus aulicorum et curialium impetum atque furorem in familiares ejusdem clericos et cognatos quoad posset mitigaret, et ipsum etiam exulantem de facultatibus suis clandestina nonnunquam largitione juvaret.[2]

[Cap.] XXIX.

De Baldewino Cisterciensi, et Hugone Cartusiensi.

Baldwin the Cistercian monk; and Hugh the Carthusian. The former bishop of Worcester, and archbishop of Canterbury. The latter bishop of Lincoln.

Fuerunt autem in Anglia, non longe post horum tempora, duo de ordine monastico, alter Cisterciensi, alter vero Cartusiensi, in episcopos, rege procurante, Wigorniensem qui et post Cantuariensis,[3] et Lincolniensem [4] assumpti. Alter enim [5] abbas fuerat Fordensis, et alter prior Wittamensis. Circa extrema namque sui tempora, rex Henricus secundus duorum ordinum viris prædictorum, ad redimendum vel sic famam suam, quia multos ante indignos episcopaverat, plus opinionis

[1] Yet Roger of Worcester was one of the deputation sent by Henry II. to the pope in 1171, to plead his innocence in St. Thomas's murder: *Ben. Abb.* (i. 19, Stubbs), and Hoveden (301, l. 10, Savile).

[2] *juvaret*] So MS.; sublevaret, Wharton.

[3] Baldwin, abbot of the Cistercian house of Ford, in Devonshire, was consecrated bishop of Worcester, August 10, 1180; was elected to Canterbury in December 1184, and enthroned May 19, 1185. He died at the siege of Acre, November 19, 1190.

[4] See *supra*, 39, *n*. (4), and 40, *n*. (1).

[5] *enim*] So MS.; Hugo, Wharton.

amore et ostentationis sicut videbatur quam devotionis sedes dare cathedrales disposuerat. Fuerat autem his duobus, ut videbatur, bonitas propemodum et religio par, sed via virtutum valde dispar. Literatus affatim erat uterque, sed alter literatissimus: ille sermone serus et parcus, hic verborum urbanitate facetus: ille quasi subtristis semper et pavidus, hic quasi continua cordis hilaritate et mentis securitate jocundus: ille Diogenes, hic Democritus: ille ad iram, sicut fere ad omnia, tardus et temperatus, hic autem facili satis occasione movendus: ille lenis, hic asper: ille tepidus, hic calidus: ille remissus, hic rigidus. Unde et papa Urbanus[1] tertius archiepiscopo sic quandoque scripsisse recolitur; "Urbanus episcopus, servus servorum Dei, monacho "ferventissimo, abbati calido, episcopo tepido, archi-"episcopo remisso, salutem," et cetera. Alexander[2] autem archidiaconus Bangornensis, vir sermone facetus et facundus, qui beato Thomæ familiaris extiterat, dicere consueverat; "Archiepiscopus Thomas ausus irasci "fuerat ob injurias ecclesiæ, et iram effectui per justi-"tiæ rigorem mancipare: Ricardus autem, illi succe-"dens, ad iras quidem et minas acerrimas,[3] citra opus "tamen omne vel ultionem, facile moveri solet; illius "Ecclesiastici vel dissimulator vel immemor, 'Noli "'citatus esse in lingua tua, et inutilis ac remissus in "'operibus tuis:' Baldewinus autem, tertius a Thoma, "nedum operari, nunquam etiam ausus est[4] vel semel "irasci." Dicebat etiam quia Thomas de equitatu ad villam veniens statim aulam petebat, Ricardus grangiam, Baldewinus ecclesiam. Duo namque sequentes habitu

74. Both good and religious men, though very different. The two contrasted.

Pope Urban III. on archbishop Baldwin.

Alexander, archdeacon of Bangor. His comparison of Baldwin with Richard and Thomas.

Ecclus. iv. 34.

75.

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[1] This rebuke of Baldwin by pope Urban occurs also, in nearly the same words, in the *Itin. Kamb.* (vol. vi. 149).

[2] This archdeacon Alexander accompanied Baldwin in the crusading progress through Wales in 1188, as interpreter to the Welsh. See vol. vi. 55, 126.

[3] *acerrimas*] So MS.; acerrimus, Wharton.

[4] *ausus est*] So MS.; it is omitted in Wharton.

religionem præferebant quanquam diverso, Thomas actu: illi in ore, hic in opere: illi in cucullis, hic in[1] medullis. Sicut enim sub clerico monachum occultavit, sic bona sua tam naturalia quam gratuita, arrogantiam et apparentiam, supercilium atque superbiam per omnia vitans, nisi tunc solum cum opus erat operibus opem et operam adhibere, modis omnibus celare curavit.

The first public festival on St. Thomas's day at Canterbury, Dec. 29, 1172; where Giraldus present. Archbishop Richard's loud talking.

Cum autem festo beati Thomæ primo quod apud Cantuariam publice celebratum fuerat, biennio videlicet post martyrium jam elapso, cui et Deo dante interceram, multi barones regni illuc pia devotione confluxissent, in audientia communi, cum post prandium in cameram intrassent, conquestus est archiepiscopus de publicæ potestatis officialibus et ministris, sibi et suis[2] contra ecclesiæ suæ[3] dignitatem nimis præter solitum nuper injuriantibus; dicens et jurans se nullatenus hæc passurum; manum quoque ad caput extendens, se prius hoc gladiis expositurum quam hæc pateretur cum juramento firmavit. Respondens autem vir nobilis et magnanimus, qui cum aliis advenerat, Hugo de Laci, "Non oportet," inquit, "O archiepiscope, quod "caput ad hoc vel etiam pedem ponatis: secure jus "vestrum tueri et ecclesiasticam justitiam exercere "potestis. Tantum operatus est Deus pro martyre 76. "sancto, decessore vestro, quod non inveniret rex "ribaldum aliquem in terra sua, etiam si vellet, "qui ausus esset in vos manum extendere. Finitum "est bellum: manu tenete, si vultis, quod martyr "evicit."

Hugh de Laci's reply to him.

Richard, bishop of Winches-

Item, cum circa id ipsum temporis, in præsentia Ricardi Wintoniensis episcopi,[4] de miraculis quæ tunc

[1] *in*] This, again, is omitted in Wharton.

[2] *et ministris, sibi et suis*] So MS.; Wharton has instead, "sibi et ministris suis."

[3] *suæ*] This not in Wharton.

[4] Richard Toclive, bishop of Winchester, 1174–1188.

ter, on St. Thomas, and archbishop Richard.

creberrime fiebant quidam colloquerentur, inquit episcopus, qui quasi de persecutoribus martyris unus extiterat; "Multum decepti fuimus de homine illo per "habitum illum et fastum, quem exterius ut videbatur "præferebat; interius autem, sicut ex post facto "patuit et quotidie patet, longe dissimilis." Et cum dixisset quidam, "Mirum autem quod de articulis illis, "pro quibus martyr occubuit, nullum ecclesia prorsus "obtinuit," et episcopus, qui plus sensatus erat quam literatus, plus in secularibus actibus astutus quam liberalibus artibus imbutus, sic respondit; "Totum "revera, quantum in ipso fuit, martyr obtinuit. Quia "si successor ejus decimam partem bonitatis et pro-"bitatis ejus habuisset, nullum ecclesia de articulis "illis amisisset. Sed quod ille per strenuitatem exi-"miam tam laudabiliter acquisivit, iste per ignaviam, "peccatis urgentibus, totum amisit."

John, bishop of Norwich, excommunicates William earl of Arundel. Henry II.'s advice on the subject.

77. Item, cum Norwicensis episcopus Johannes [1] comitem Willelmum de Arundel filium Willelmi, propter terras ejus quasdam quas occupaverat apud Len [2] excommunicasset, et comes inde [3] querimoniam suam regi detulisset, Henrico secundo scilicet, qui laicorum semper contra clerum fautor extiterat, ait episcopo rex in multorum audientia; "Parcius agite, vos epi-"scopi, parcius, contra barones regni; nec eos tam "præcipitanter excommunicetis; quia si uni ex vobis [4] "bene inde accidit, et ex tali forte præsumptione suc-"cessit, non omnibus hoc continget; nec omnes qui "propter ausus temerarios interfici poterunt, statim "ob hoc martyres fient." Sed ecce quanta martyris nostri gloria! Cujus etiam ab auctore facinoris ipso,

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[1] John of Oxford, bishop of Norwich, 1175-1200.

[2] *Len*] *i.e.* Lynn, Norfolk. Wharton reads "Len . . . ," as if he thought something was wanting to complete the name.

[3] *inde*] So MS.; in, Wharton.

[4] *uni ex vobis*] Very probably Henry here refers to bishop Hugh of Lincoln. See *Mag. Vit. S. Hugonis*, p. 126, &c.

sicut et ante a fautore,[1] poterant laudis præconia non taceri. Ergo, nec immerito,

"Laudari potuit tantus ab hoste decor."

Sed hæc [2] hactenus. Baldewinus autem, literarum studiis a puerilibus annis affatim imbutus, et jugum Domini ab adolescentia portans, moribus et vita eminens in populo lucerna fuit. Unde et archilevitæ quem canonice adeptus fuerat cedens honorem et sponte deserens, mundique pompas alta mente despiciens, Cisterciensis ordinis habitum sacra cum devotione suscepit. Et quoniam moribus olim plusquam monachus extiterat, infra anni terminum abbas effectus, et infra paucos postmodum annos in episcopum, deinde in archiepiscopum est sublimatus; tanquam super pauca fidelis inventus, et ob hoc supra multa constitutus.

Baldwin, archdeacon.

A Cistercian monk, and abbot.

A bishop, and archbishop.

Ceterum quoniam, ut ait Tullius,[3] "Nihil simplici 78.
"in genere omni ex parte perfectum natura expolivit," innatæ benignitatis mansuetudinem, quam privatus exercuerat, in potestate non exuens, tanquam baculo sustentans et non virga castigans, tanquam ubera dans matris et non verbera patris, remissionis in publico gravi cum scandalo notam incurrit. Adeo nempe lenitatis in ipso tepor ac torpor pastoralem penitus rigorem absumpsit, ut melior monachus simplex quam abbas, melior abbas quam eipiscopus, melior episcopus quam archiepiscopus fuisse videretur. Sane, quoniam [4] in Anglicanis finibus inter regnum et sacerdotium frequens esse solet altercatio et fere continua, insulari tyrannide semper ingruente, tanto notabilior lenitatis

His kindness of heart, and remissness.

The contest between the regal and sacerdotal power. The insular tyranny.

[1] *fautore*] *i.e.* bishop Richard of Winchester, as described just above.

[2] *Sed hæc, &c.*] The two next sections, down to *dulcoris et decoris*, have occurred before, in very nearly the same words, in the Itinerary of Wales, vol. vi. 148, &c. Giraldus here omits one clause of the Itinerary, about pope Urban's rebuke of archbishop Baldwin; but this has already appeared; *supra* 68, *n.* 1.

[3] Cicero, *De Invent. Rhetor.* ii. 3.

[4] *quoniam*] MS., and *Itin. Kamb.*; quum, Wharton.

hujus eminet excessus, quanto beatum Thomam ejusdem sedis antistitem, pro ecclesiæ libertate usque ad martyrii palmam dimicando, nostris diebus constat gloriosius triumphasse. Quod itaque martyr insignis, pravas regni consuetudines in ecclesiam[1] Dei pullulantes exstirpando, multis prius allegatis, demum caput allegando feliciter evicit, hoc Ille, cujus occulta quidem judicia sed nunquam injusta, per martyris ejusdem primi successoris remissam liberalitatem, ne dicam ignaviam, recidivo jam morbo redivivaque malitia, quod non absque dolore dicendum vel audiendum, in ecclesiæ suæ damnum enorme perditum ire permisit; quod utique, secundi istius tempore, contra obstinatam nequitiam non lenitate, non patientia dissimulandum, sed cum[2] rigore potius et austeritate,[3] usque ad sanguinis etiam si opus fuisset effusionem, denuo fuerat recuperandum. Unde, cum primus ille martyris successor morbo decumberet quo paulo post occubuit, noctu in somno vocem hanc terribilem cœlitus emissam audivit;[4] "Dissipasti ecclesiam meam, et "ego eradicabo te de terra." Sed utinam de terra morientium, et non viventium; de terra quam terimus, non terra quam quærimus; de terra laboris et sudoris, non de terra dulcoris et decoris.

The results of St. Thomas's victory lost by his successors, Richard and Baldwin.

79.

The terrible voice to archbishop Richard, before his death.

Baldwin's manful preaching of the Crusade.

Inter[5] primos tamen, martyris successor hic secundus, audita Salvatoris et salutiferæ crucis injuria, nostris proh dolor diebus per Saladinum irrogata, cruce signatus, in ejusdem obsequiis, tam remotis finibus quam propinquis, prædicationis officium viriliter as-

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[1] *ecclesiam*] MS. and *Itin.*; ecclesia, Wharton.

[2] *cum*] This not in the *Itin.*

[3] *austeritate*] The *Itin.* has instead, "asperitate."

[4] See Gervase of Canterbury (1465, Twysden); *Ben. Abb.* (i. 311, Stubbs); and Hoveden (355, Savile). This dream is repeated by our author in the *De Invectionibus*, vol. i. 144.

[5] This section again, after the omission of some twenty lines, is mainly taken from the Itinerary of Wales; the latter part of it, however, being altogether different.

Sails from Marseilles; lands at Tyre. Thence to Acre, to the army.

sumpsit. Et postmodum iter arripiens, navigioque fungens apud Marsiliam, transcurso tandem pelagi profundo, in portu Tyrensi incolumis applicuit; et inde ad exercitum nostrum Acaronem[1] transivit. Ubi multos ex nostris inveniens, et fere cunctos, principum defectu, in summa desolatione jam positos et desperatione, alios quidem longa exspectatione fatigatos, alios 80.
fame et inopia graviter afflictos, quosdam vero aeris inclementia distemperatos, cum singulos pro posse, vinculo caritatis amplectens, sumptibus et impensis, verbis et vitæ meritis aliquamdiu confirmasset, morbo letali correptus, infra paucos dies, ut erat diætæ tenuis et abstinentiæ grandis, usque ad spiritus exhalationem afflictus, fidelis depositi custos, commissumque Domino fœnore cum multo talentum reddens, diem feliciter in terra sacra clausit extremum.

His death at Acre.

Hugh of Lincoln. His pet swan.

Ut autem ad Lincolniensem revertamur. Et illud de ipso,[2] quod quasi in signum aliquod et prognosticalis eventus indicium absque dubio datum videtur, sub silentio quidem prætereundum non putavi. Eo namque die, vel circiter illum proximo, quo apud Lincolniam primo susceptus fuit episcopus Hugo et incathedratus, apud manerium ipsius, quasi per octo miliaria ab urbe Lincolniensi distans, juxta Stowam, silvis et stagnis delectabiliter obsitum, olor novus et[3] nunquam ibi antea visus advolavit. Qui infra[4] paucos dies cignos, quos ibidem plures reperit, mole suæ magnitudinis omnes oppressit et interemit: uno tamen 81.

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[1] *Acaronem*] The *Itin.* has "Aco-"nem," or "Aconum."

[2] The greater part of this account of St. Hugh and his pet swan is repeated in the Life *infra* (Dist. i. 10). All of it, as here given, is quoted in the *Magna Vita S. Hugonis* (pp. 115–117); where also are further particulars, from the author's own acquaintance with the bird. That the author of the *Mag. Vit.* quoted from this treatise, and not from the Life *infra*, is certain from the notes which follow. See especially note 1, p. 75.

[3] *novus et*] MS., and *Mag. Vit.*; not in the Life, *infra*.

[4] *infra*] MS., and *Mag. Vit.*; intra, in the Life, *infra*.

feminei sexus, ad societatis solatium, non ecunditatis augmentum,[1] reservato. Erat enim tanto fere cigno robustior, quanto cignus ansere major; cigno tamen in omnibus, et præcipue in colore et candore simillimus. Præter quantitatem etiam hoc distante, quod tumorem in rostro atque nigredinem more cignorum non præferebat; quinimmo locum eundem rostri planum, croceoque decenter colore, una cum capite et colli parte superiore, distinctum habebat.[2]

This a wild swan, or Hooper.

Avis hæc autem regia, et tam qualitate quam quantitate conspicua, in primo ad locum illum præsulis adventu, quasi sponte et absque difficultate domestica facta, ad ipsum in camera sua propter admirationem est adducta. Quæ statim a manu ipsius panem sumens et comedens, eique quam familiariter adhærens, omnem silvestrem interim ut videbatur exuta naturam, nec ejus attractus,[3] nec astantium undique turbarum et intuentium[4] accessus sive tumultus abhorrebat. Consueverat etiam interdum, cum ab episcopo pascebatur, caput cum colli longitudine tota in manicam ipsius largam et peramplam, inque sinum interiorem, avis extendere; ibique aliquamdiu cum solicitudine quadam modo suo domino congratulans atque præludens, tan-
82. quam aliquid quæritando mussitare.

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[1] *augmentum*] MS., and Life *infra*, and *Mag. Vit.*; argumentum, Wharton.

[2] This swan of St. Hugh was a wild swan, or hooper. Giraldus describes very accurately the more obvious differences between this bird and the tame swan. There is a difficulty, however, in what he says of their relative sizes; the tame swan, according to naturalists, being generally the larger bird of the two. But the hooper varies much in size; and St. Hugh's bird may have been an exceptionally large one. Or may it not be that our tame swan, after its long semi-domestication, is a larger bird than it was 680 years ago?

The swan seems to have become an established emblem of St. Hugh, in representations of him. See the *Mag. Vit.*, Preface, xlv, n. 2.

[3] *attractus*] So MS.; the Life *infra*, and the *Mag. Vit.* have "attac-"tus," probably the true reading.

[4] *intuentium*] So MS., and *Mag. Vit.*; the Life *infra* has "intueun-"tium."

Item,[1] sicut asserebant ministri et custodes manerii, contra præsulis adventum ad locum illum, cum forte aliquamdiu absens fuisset, tribus diebus vel quatuor solebat se solito alacrius avis agitare, volitando videlicet in amnis superficie, et aquas alis verberando, altaque voce clamando; interdum etiam a stagno exeundo, nunc ad aulam, nunc etiam ad portam ulteriorem, tanquam advenienti domino obviam pergens, magnis passibus deambulabat. Credibile satis est, quod imminente apparatu, et instante servorum frequentia majore atque discursu, cum subtilis sint et aereæ volucres naturæ,[2] a quarum etiam gestibus prognostica temporum multa sumuntur, et ista forsan ex eadem natura avis hæc perpendere potuit. Mirum hoc etiam, quod nemini præterquam episcopo soli se familiarem, vel ex toto tractabilem exhibebat: quin potius, astans domino, ab aliorum eundem accessu, sicut aliquoties cum admiratione conspexi, clamando, alis et rostro minando, voceque altisona juxta naturæ suæ modulos[3] crocitando, defendere solet, tanquam se propriam ejus esse demonstrans, eique soli[4] signum fuisse transmissam manifeste declarans. Non enim mysterio carere potuit, quod[5] avis candida, imminentis 83. interitus cantu nuncia, viro innocenti, pio, ac puro,

The mystery of this swan.

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[1] *Item . . . . perpendere potuit*] These two clauses are in the *Mag. Vit.*, but not in the Life *infra*. Very probably, they were not in the first edition of this treatise, from which the repetition in the Life *infra* would be taken, but were added in the new edition of these treatises presented to archbishop Langton; Giraldus, while then making the addition in this treatise, omitting to make it in the Life *infra*. It is from this 2nd edition that the author of the *Mag. Vit.* would probably quote.

[2] *subtilis sint et aereæ volucres naturæ*] So MS., and *Mag. Vit.*; subtiles sint et aerea volucres natura, Wharton.

[3] *modulos*] So MS., the Life *infra*, and *Mag. Vit.*; modulum, Wharton.

[4] *soli*] So MS.; soli in, the Life *infra*, and *Mag. Vit.* (which, probably, the right reading); solum, Wharton.

[5] *quod*] So MS., &c.; quæ, Wharton.

mortisque minas, quia sancti mortem habent in desiderio et vitam in patientia, nil formidanti, divino tanquam oraculo destinata transmittitur. Quemadmodum enim avis ista, candore spectabilis, mortis discrimina docet non dolenda; et, imminente letali articulo, tanquam de necessitate virtutem faciens, funebria fata canendo contemnit; sic viri, virtutum meritis candidati, ab ærumnis hujus seculi læti discedunt, solumque Deum fontem [1] vivum sitientes, a corpore mortis hujus liberari, dissolvique cupiunt, et esse cum Christo.[2]

Absit autem ut de nitore pennarum exteriore, nigredineque carnis et corporis interiore, mysterium hic quispiam assignare præsumat.

Item et illud quoque, quod viri sancti præelectionem quodammodo, et pudicitiæ cœlibisque vitæ præparationem insinuasse videtur, similiter et notabile duxi.

Hugh's conflicts with the flesh, when a young man. The vision, and his release from temptation.

Hic enim,[3] cum juvenilibus annis monachus effectus repugnantes carnis et spiritus in se conflictus non absque molestia gravi sæpe pertulerit, tandem ei in visu vir angelicus apparuit, qui et forcipe, quam [4] manu gestabat, statim virilia visus est illi resecuisse;[5]

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[1] This is from Ps. xli. 3; where, in the present Vulgate, is,—" Sitivit " anima mea ad Deum fortem " vivum." A MS. 13th century Vulgate at Southwell has " fontem :" and the Lyons Vulgate (A.D. 1521) has "fontem" in the text, with "*alias* fortem" in the margin.

[2] *Christo*] Here the repetition in the Life *infra* ends, and the quotation in the *Magna Vita*.

[3] *Hic enim*] Hence, to the end of the section, *gratiæ*, is repeated in the *Gem. Eccl.* (vol. ii. 247).

[4] *quam*] So MS., and *Gem. Eccl.*; quem, Wharton.

[5] The author of the *Magna Vita* (p. 58) gives a somewhat different account of this vision, as related to him by Hugh himself; and adds that he mentions his direct information from Hugh, because he had heard that some writer had said that Hugh, "per beatam Virginem " . . . . sibi apparentem visitatus, " eunuchizatus et curatus ita fuerit, " quod nullam deinceps carnis titil- " lationem omnino expertus sit." This agrees with the above account of Giraldus, except that the Blessed Virgin is the operator, instead of an *Angelicus vir*. The author of the Metrical Life (ll. 370–402), who very frequently follows Giraldus, here however, with of course some poetical embellishments, agrees

felici quidem remedio, eique divinitus indulto; quoniam ab illa nunquam hora, licet episcopus post creatus ad Anglicanæ copiæ superfluitates in ferventi ætate transplantatus[1] fuisset, ullos carnalis illecebræ, vel, quod 84.
majus miraculum erat, primorum vix etiam[2] motuum sensit insultus. Unde Augustinus; "Cuicunque ratio-"nali creaturæ præstatur, ut peccare non possit, hoc "non est naturæ propriæ, sed gratiæ."

Aug. contra Maximinum, viii. 701, ed. Ben.

A like release of the monk Helias. As in the book called *Paradisus.*

Simile reperies, in libro qui *Paradisus* inscribitur, de Helia monacho.[3] Qui cum monasterium immane magnis sumptibus construxisset, in quo conventu[4] ad trecentarum[5] numerum feminarum reclusisset, quibus et provisor erat et ordinator, juvenis adhuc existens, tentatus est subito corporali[6] desiderio voluptatis. Qui, relicto statim monasterio, cum per solitudines jam biduo jejunus errasset, et crebras ad Dominum orationes fudisset, ut vel vitam ejus vel hanc tentationem eriperet, nocte in somnis visum est ei, quod tres angeli ipsum arripientes genitalia ipsius novacula præciderint, et ad regimen iterum feminarum illarum eundem transmiserunt. Qui mane reversus, cum quadraginta annorum tunc existens alios quadraginta in illarum frequentia, et habitaculo proximo, post vixerit annos, nunquam ultra in cor ipsius cogitatio talis ascendit.

Hugh at first hot and rigid as a bishop.

Lincolniensis tamen, quem, juxta primum in episcopio[7] statum, calidum diximus et rigidum, secum

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closely as to particulars with the *Magna Vita;* and has fully enough coincidences of expression, to prove that he must have had the *Magna Vita* before him, when he perpetrated his poetry.

[1] *transplantatus*] Instead of this the *Gem. Eccl.* has "translatus."

[2] *etiam*] So MS., and *Gem. Eccl.*; not in Wharton.

[3] This about the monk Helias is also in the *Gem. Eccl.* (vol. ii. 245), at greater length.

[4] *in quo conventu*] So MS.; in quod conventum, *Gem. Eccl.*; in quo conventum, Wharton.

[5] *trecentarum*] The *Gem. Eccl.* has "trecentanum."

[6] *corporali*] The *Gem. Eccl.*, has "carnalis."

[7] *episcopio*] So MS.; episcopatu, Wharton.

attendens et considerans quia caput ecclesiæ in terris languidum, et quia[1] nec parem haberet in regno, de
85. cujus vel societate solatium, vel virtute vires sumeret, nec superiorem aliquem de cujus ad plenum posset
Afterwards more like other bishops. auctoritate fulciri, processu temporis patriæ paulatim morem gerere,[2] et, quia turpis est omnis pars suo universo non congruens, coepiscoporum cœtui patientia pariter atque modestia se conformare satius et securius duxit. Unde et violento dominatui potius in plerisque
Eccles. iv. 10. per industriam cedere, quam solus, quia "Væ soli,"[3] aperte obviando, seque suosque, quos in regni bonis jam radicaverat, in periculum dare, saniori consilio præelegit. Quoniam, ut ait Rabanus super Tobiam,[4] "Non debemus nos in pericula præcipitare, vel Deum
Matt. x. 23. "tentare, dum ratione possumus agere." Unde, "Si "persecuti vos fuerint in una civitate, fugite in aliam."
Joh. viii. 59. Et alibi; "Jesus autem abscondit se, et exivit de
Act. ix. 25. "templo." Et Paulus "In sporta demissus per mu-
Matt. ii. 15. "rum." Et Jesus fugit in Egiptum, "Et erat ibi
Tob. ii. 8. "usque ad obitum Herodis." Item in Tobia; "Arguebant eum omnes proximi sui, dicentes, Jam hujus "rei causa interfici jussus es, et vix effugisti mortis "imperium: et iterum sepelis mortuos? Sed Tobias, "plus timens Deum quam regem, rapiebat corpora "occisorum, et occultabat in domo sua; et mediis "noctibus sepeliebat ea." Super quod expositor; "Ut nec ab humanitatis officio cessaret, nec etiam
86. "indiscrete regem offenderet." Quod enim potestati
Judith x. 20. sit deferendum, habetur etiam[5] ex Judith, quæ "Cum in faciem Holofernis intendisset, adoravit eum, "prosternens se super terram." Super quod expositor; "Non perturbatione timoris, sed observatione

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[1] *quia*] MS.; quod, Wharton.

[2] *gerere*] MS.; genere, Wharton.

[3] *quia "Væ soli"*] This omitted in Wharton.

[4] The commentary of Rabanus Maurus on the book of Tobit is not known to exist; according to the editor of his works, Cologne, 1626.

[5] *habetur etiam*] MS.; habebatur, only, Wharton.

"ordinis." Unde, "Subditi estote in omni timore 1 Pet. ii.
"dominis:" et "Deum timete, regem honorificate." 18, 17.
Præmittitur tamen hic et præfertur honori regio timor
Domini. Et apostolus; "Qui potestati resistit, Dei or- Rom. xiii.
"dinationi resistit." Unde Helias regem impium 2.
Achaz adorasse legitur: unde et Paulus, apud Agrippam
regem et Sextum præsidem causam suam agens, verba
mansueta protulit: similiter et apud Holofernem
Judith. Item in Ecclesiastico; "Noli resistere contra Ecclus. iv.
"faciem potentis, nec coneris contra ictum fluvii." Si 32.
enim cum multitudine est dispensandum, juxta illud
Augustini, "Ubi non hujus aut illius hominis sed
"totius populi strages jacet, detrahendum est aliquid
"severitati, ut majoribus malis sanandis caritas sincera
"subveniat," et cum illo quoque, qui sociam habet
multitudinem, proculdubio est dispensandum. Illud
tamen Ecclesiastici expositor sic determinat; "Obedi-
"endum est majoribus, si veritati concordant et jus-
"titiæ, nec aliter: sed[1] pro recta fide et vera reli-
"gione, in quibus est salus animæ, decertandum est."
Unde et in Ecclesiastico subsequenter; "Pro justitia Ecclus. iv.
"agonizare pro anima tua, et usque ad mortem certa 33.
"pro justitia; et Deus expugnabit pro te inimicos 87.
"tuos. Noli citatus esse in lingua tua, et inutilis ac
"remissus in operibus tuis." Hanc autem egregius
martyr noster Thomas sententiam sequens, immo ad-
implens, nostris diebus pro justitia usque ad mortem
martyriique coronam dimicavit; et Deus in conspectu
populi totius inimicos ejus in brevi potenter expug-
navit; ipsumque in cœlestibus egregie remuneravit
Ipse, qui ait, "Beati qui persecutionem patiuntur Matt. v. 10.
"propter justitiam, quoniam ipsorum est regnum cœ-
"lorum." Item Origenes super Numeros; "Non legi- Homil. ix.
"mus antea quod obtexerit nubes tabernaculum, et ap- § 2.
"paruerit majestas Domini, et receperit intra nubem

[1] *sed*] MS.; scilicet, Wharton.

"Moysen et Aaron, nisi cum populus in eos surrexit "et lapidare voluit. Discamus ex his, quanta sit "utilitas in persecutione[1] Christianis; quomodo pro- "tegat eos Deus, et infundatur Spiritus Sanctus. "Tunc enim maxime adest Domini gloria, cum homi- "num sævitia concitatur; et tunc pacem habemus "apud Deum, cum ab hominibus propter justitiam
Rom. v. 20. "expugnamur. 'Ubi enim abundat peccatum, super- "'abundat et gratia.'" Tamen ad diversa relata.

Lincolniensis igitur, si vero illo deliciarum horto, florigeroque supernarum sedium campo, ubi juxta merita plerumque et præmia variantur et serta, purpuream roseamque coronam non obtinuerit, niveam saltem, liliique candore venustatam, gratia desuper inspirante favorem, feliciter assequatur.[2]

Sed quoniam

88. Hor. A. P. 34. "Infelix operis summa est, quæ apponere finem[3]
"Nescit,"

libellus vitam Sancti Remigii, cum aliis quibusdam non incompetenter appositis, succincta brevitate perstringens, sub hoc compendio terminetur.

Explicit.[4]

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[1] *persecutione*] The MS., and Wharton, have "perfectione:" Origen has "persecutionibus."

[2] This section, it seems plain, was written after Hugh's death, and therefore was an addition of the 2nd edition of the treatise as presented to Langton.

[3] *quæ apponere finem*] In Horace it is, "quia ponere totum."

[4] The remainder of p. 88 in the MS., and pp. 89, 90, are blank. Wharton here inserts (p. 434), under the heading "Liber Tertius," the first chapter of the third Distinction of Giraldus's Life of St. Hugh *infra*. And then, in order as he says to fill up the page, he gives two epigrams of Giraldus; viz., that "In "laudem papæ Innocentii," as in vol. i. 368, No. XXII., and that on the power of the pope, in vol. i. 374, No. XXXII. To the last he prefixes the heading, "Carmen ejusdem, "quando curiæ Romanæ valedixit "emissum."

GIRALDI CAMBRENSIS

VITA S. HUGONIS.

VITA S. HUGONIS.

INCIPIUNT CAPITULA IN VITAM SANCTI HUGONIS. 91.

Prima distinctio continet de ortu Lincolniensis episcopi, scilicet Hugonis primi,[1] educatione, conversatione laudabili, et promotione.

II.—De pontificali ejusdem in omnibus conversatione, et contrariorum detestatione.

III.—De puerorum confirmationibus, ubi Spiritus amplior gratia datur: quam infatigabilem se in his exhibere curaverit.

IV.—De sancti[2] viri pietate pariter[3] ac liberalitate.

V.—De ecclesia Lincolniensi ab eodem miro lapideo tabulatu constructa; et longe mirifice ac magnifice magis ab ipso ex vivis lapidibus adornata.

VI.—De realibus horis omnibus, quas diligenter explebat; et præcipue septima, qua se infatigabilem exhibebat.

VII.—De his quæ, in coronatione regis Ricardi, laudabiliter ab ipso Londoniis gesta fuerant.[4]

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[1] *Hugonis primi*] This Life therefore, at any rate in the form in which we have it in the one MS., was not published until after the consecration of Hugh de Wells, second bishop of Lincoln of that name, in 1209. *Hugo primus* occurs again twice in the Prooemium *infra*.

[2] *sancti*] "innata" instead, in the heading of the chapter *infra*.

[3] *pariter*] Not in the heading of the chapter *infra*.

[4] *laudabiliter . . . . fuerant*] In the heading of the chapter *infra* it is, "ab ipso Londoniis laudabiliter "gesta sunt."

VIII.—De rege Ricardo, ab Allemannia reverso, graviter in episcopum, causam Dei tuentem, exacerbato.

IX.—De regia pallii exactione; per discretionem ejusdem, et solertiam, unica pecuniæ largitione cassata.

X.—De olore apud Stowam juxta Lincolniam, in primo episcopi adventu, tanquam obviam ei veniente; et miro modo, vel etiam miraculoso, se mansuetissimum ei statim reddente.

92. XI.—Qualiter demum in urbe Londoniensi gravi morbo correptus, peracto vitæ et viæ[1] istius cursu, rebus humanis feliciter est exemptus.

INCIPIUNT[2] SECUNDÆ DISTINCTIONIS CAPITULA.

Secunda distinctio continet de corpore viri sancti[3] ab urbe Londoniensi[4] Lincolniam usque translato, et ibidem gloriose suscepto; multisque mirificis actibus, et tanquam miraculosis, declarato.

II.—De milite de Lindeseia; quem, ad tumbam viri sancti, primo transitus ejusdem anno,[5] gutta festra reliquit.

III.—De decano de Marnam, a gravi apostemate curato: et filio ipsius, a morte liberato.

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[1] At head of the chapter *infra* it is "viæ et vitæ."

[2] *Incipiunt, &c.*] This heading, and the first eleven of the capitula, are inserted by Wharton (p. 409) after the capitula of the Life of Remigius, as if he considered this 2nd Distinction of the Life of St. Hugh to have formed a second portion of that treatise. See *supra*, 10, *n.* 2.

[3] *sancti*] This omitted by Wharton.

[4] *Londoniensi*] Wharton has "Londoniæ."

[5] *primo . . . . anno*] This not in the heading of the chapter *infra*.

IV.—De muliere de Kele,[1] manibus contracta, ad tumbam viri sancti curata.

V.—De muliere[2] hydropica, ad tumbam viri sancti curata.

VI.—De juvene; qui visum, quo diu jam caruerat, ad tumbam viri sancti recuperavit.

VII.—De juvene quodam de Anecastro, in amentiam verso, ad tumbam viri sancti sanitati restituto.

VIII.—De viro quodam de Stubetre; qui ad tumbam viri sancti visum recuperavit.

IX.—De puella de Wikeford,[3] tibiis totis et poplitibus contracta, ad tumbam viri sancti curata.

X.—De puero in Wikeford[3] muto, et ad tumbam viri sancti curato.

XI.—De puero de Potergate[4] similiter muto, et ad tumbam viri sancti curato.

XII.[5]—De puella de Wikeford[3] furibunda, ad tumbam 95.
sancti viri curata.

XIII.—De finali tanquam epilogo; novisque scriptoribus, spe remunerationis et condignæ retributionis, exercitio dato.

I.[6]—Transitus de signis ante interdictum, ad signa 94.
divinitus in ipso interdicto data.

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[1] *Kele*] The place is called "Keles" in the chapter *infra.*

[2] *muliere*] After this is "de Be-"verlaco," in the heading of the chapter *infra.*

[3] *Wikeford*] The heading of the chapter *infra* has "Wicford;" but the chapter itself, "Wikeford," as here. The same is the case with capitula X., XII.

[4] *Potergate*] Spelt "Potteregate" in heading of chapter *infra.*

[5] Capitula XII. and XIII. are not given by Wharton.

[6] These six capitula, of what the scribe has omitted to call the Tertia Distinctio, are on an added half leaf of vellum, but in the same hand. This is paged 93 and 94; 93 being blank. The 3rd Distinction was an after addition by Giraldus to the treatise as first issued; probably after its presentation to Langton. Wharton (409) gives these capi-

95. *Expliciunt Capitula.*

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tula, after the eleven capitula of the 2nd Distinction (*supra*, p. 84, n. 2), with the heading "Tertia Distinctio," as if this third portion of the Life of St. Hugh formed a third division of the Life of St. Remigius.

[1] *Matildide*] Wharton has instead "Matilde."

[2] *Plumgard*] It is "Plumbard" in the heading of the chapter *infra*; but "Plumgard," as here, in the chapter itself.

INCIPIT PROŒMIUM IN VITAM SANCTI HUGONIS LINCOLNIENSIS EPISCOPI.

Quanto rarius, ecclesia senescente, quam nascente, virtutes in sanctis et signa clarescunt, tanto carius ea, cum emerserint, gratius atque jocundius amplectanda. Quanto nimirum in cordibus fidelium caritas hodie plus refrixit, tanto fervor ejusdem ebulliens, in hoc algore repertus, majori commendatione pariter et admiratione dignis laudum præconiis est efferendus.

Miracles more rare in these latter days of the church. And love more cold.

Sicut igitur inter metalla communia aurum rutilans et obrizum, sicut inter arenas innumeras preciosæ virtutis gemma reperta, sicut inter nubes et nebulas procellosas sol clarius erumpens et diem irradians, sic sanctus hic noster Lincolniensis antistes, scilicet Hugo primus,[1] qui nostro nunc causam calamo dedit, insulam Britannicam, continuis more insulari fluctibus et procellis exagitatam, virtutibus et vitæ meritis his nostris diebus illustravit. Quanto namque, pertinaciore 96.
regni sacerdotiique conflictu, Christi ecclesiam gravior de die in diem urgebat afflictio, tanto, remedio longe uberiore, solatioque propensiore, rubicundam et odoriferam unguenti effusi Cantiæ rosam, precioso sanguine fuso rubricatam, liliique Lincolniensis luculentam lampadem, mittens amicus amicam, et sponsus sponsam, nubilosissimis his temporibus oculo benigniore respexit.

Hugh of Lincoln an illustrious exception.

S. Thomas the red rose of Kent, Hugh the bright lily of Lincoln.

O quanta Dei pietas, bonitas, et gratia! Quantaque, descendens in terras deorsum, cœlestis gloria, tam pio benignitatis studio temporis malitiæ remedia præstans!

The goodness of God, as shown in these his saints.

[1] See p. 83, n. 1, *supra*.

Quod in his ultimis diebus, quibus mundi tam caritas refrigescit quam ætas, per sanctorum quorumdam merita simul et exempla, fides gelidior quasi follibus quibusdam et ventilabris excitatur et inflammatur; et ex scintilla modica, aut etiam favilla jam fere totaliter emortua, per hæc eadem suffragia quasi rogus igneus, et indeficiens caritatis lampas accendatur.

The plan of this treatise.

In primis itaque de ortu præsulis Hugonis primi[1] et educatione, eruditione quoque et promotione, laudabilique in omni statu suo conversatione, deinde de signis et miraculis, quæ meritis ejusdem gloriose in terris operatus est Deus, noster nunc, divina opitulante clementia, planis admodum verbis et non politis, stilus explicare curabit.

Explicit Procœmium.

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[1] See p. 83, n. 1, *supra*.

[Cap.] I.

De ortu Lincolniensis episcopi, scilicet Hugonis primi, educatione, conversatione laudabili, et promotione. 97.

Vir igitur hic, et vere virorum vir perpaucorum, de remotis imperialis Burgundiæ finibus, haud procul ab Alpibus, originem duxit. Qui a parentibus militaris ordinis, generositate quoque non infimis, legitime natus, et ad Dei cultum educatus, in ætate tenerrima literarum studiis addictus, juxta mentis vehementiam ad hoc applicatam, Deique favorem et gratiam suis et se diligentibus in bonum per omnia cooperantem, justaque suorum vota foventem et promoventem, in brevi quidem tempora multa complevit. Cum autem jam quasi decennis[1] existeret, pia patris providentia in loco qui Villa Benedicta vocatur, cœnobio conventuali et canonico, disciplinæ regularis habitum simul et animum suscepit. Ubi et pater ipsius, paucis postmodum annis,[2] habitu suscepto, secularique militia pro cœlibe et cœlesti prorsus abjecta, laudabili conversatione vitam feliciter terminavit. Qui longe ante religionem assumptam, sicut et post, vinculis ferreis sed occultissimis, una cum abstinentiis plurimis, Dalilam suam domans, variis et exquisitis modis carnem spiritui servire coegit.

Hugh of a knightly Burgundian family.

His early education.

Sap. iv. 13.

Becomes a regular canon of Villarbenoit.

Puer autem noster, a patris puritate et devotione

[1] *decennis*] The *Magna Vita* (p. 8), by very far our best authority, says that he had not completed his eighth year ("ferme octennis"), when he entered the house of Villarbenoit. With the ten years old, however, of Giraldus, agree the Report of the papal commissioners before Hugh's canonization, MS. Harleian 526; the Metrical Life (l. 96); and the Legenda, MS. Lansdowne 436 (Appendix D. *infra*).

[2] *paucis postmodum annis*] This belongs, not to *habitu suscepto*, but to *vitam terminavit* at the end of the sentence. His father entered the convent at the same time as Hugh himself. See *Mag. Vit.* 8, 9.

98. His studies. His preceptor. non degenerans, vitam canonicam viribus totis et nisibus amplexatus, a studiis tamen literalibus, et maxime theologicis, animum loco et tempore non relaxavit. Præceptor[1] etenim ejus, vir bonus, antiquus, et authenticus, auctorum loco gentilium, qui fabulis interdum minus honestis animos inficiunt auditorum, Prudentium, Sedulium, Fulgentium, ceterosque libellos similes, sincera solum Christianæ religionis dogmata redolentes, deinde et Bibliothecam assidue legendam exponebat. His great knowledge of Holy Scripture. Quam ratione duplici, tum propter primævam doctrinam, quæ teneris impressa mentibus tenacius hæret, tum etiam propter assiduam et infatigabilem ejusdem quolibet in statu suo lectionem, adeo ad manum habebat, quod vix ulla ex parte coram ipso legi posset, quin clausulas plurimas tam præcedentes quam sequentes fideli et infallibili memoria recitaret. Doctor autem ejus, quoties ipsum propter pueriles excessus aliquos, cum tamen puer existens parum puerile gessisset, in opere doctrinali ut moris est virga castigaret, statim, puero plorante, senex in lacrimas prorumpens dicere consuevit; "Noli, fili mi, flere; noli, puer optime et "indolis electæ; noli, lacrimis tuis, senilibus ab oculis "lacrimas elicere. Ad Deum enim desuper te mitto; "et ad Deum ibis sine dubio."

Cum autem ætatis suæ quintum decimum[2] jam an-
99. Sap. iv. 8. num ageret, quia "Cani sunt sensus hominis, et ætas "senectutis vita immaculata," propter maturitatem teneris in annis statim assumptam, et scintillantia jam futuræ sanctitatis indicia, in cella domus suæ quæ

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[1] *Præceptor*] As to Hugh's preceptor, and his studies, see the *Mag. Vit.* 10.

[2] *quintum decimum*] This is, no doubt, wrong. He was ordained deacon in his nineteenth year, *Mag. Vit.* 17; and it was some time after this before he became prior of St. Maximus, *Ibid.* 19, and n. 3. The papal Report, however (Harleian, 526), the Legend (Appendix D. *infra*), and the Metrical Life (l. 131), agree so far with Giraldus as to say that Hugh was sixteen years old when he received the appointment.

Sancti Maximi dicitur prior est effectus, ceterisque[1] præfectus. Quam incontinenti tam provide rexit, et tam mature, ut quam pauperem susceperat et exilem, possessionibus amplis opulentam in brevi redderet et opimam.

Made prior of the cell of St. Maximus.

Videns itaque nimiam mulierum ad locum illum ex antiquo patriæ more frequentiam, qui de facili vel absque scandalo deleri, vel absque periculo gravi sustineri non posset, cum fugiendus sit hostis hujusmodi,[2] et arte magis quam Marte vincendus, austerioris vitæ causa, et arctioris religionis gratia, Cartusiam, non procul inde distantem, se felici proposito transferre curavit.

The women there.

Hugh removes to the Great Chartreuse.

Unde et natale solum,[3] quod sui memores innata dulcedine quadam ab honestis plerumque propositis retrahere solet, transiens et præteriens, nec amicos ibidem visitandos censuit, nec cognatos. Sed tanquam arcam Domini usque Bersames mugiendo ferens, nec colla reflectens aut respiciens, dicti duritiam ordinis, qui præter abstinentias ceteras et afflictiones corporis graves, omni loco et tempore carnium esum abhorret, et jugi cilicio riget, spontanea sanctaque cum devotione suscepit.

1 Reg. vi. 12.

The Carthusian rigour.

Ibi ergo vir Deo datus, virtutibus et vitæ meritis 100.
amplius de die in diem proficere studens, tam simplicem et benignum se cunctis rebus exhibuit, quod aviculas

His proficiency there.

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[1] *ceteris*] There was only one other canon, an aged priest, in the cell, *Mag. Vit.*, 20.

[2] The *Mag. Vit.* (23, &c.) has nothing about women being the cause of Hugh's removal to the Great Chartreuse. Giraldus is followed by the Metrical Life (l. 263. &c.), with very much poetical amplification. The papal Report (Harleian 526), and the Legend (Appendix D. *infra*), merely state his removal, assigning no reason save that he was anxious "Domare am-"plius carnem suam, et ejus motus "lubricos fortius cohibere."

[3] *natale solum, &c.*] Ovid has, 1 Pont. iii. 35;

"Nescio qua natale solum dulce-
"dine captos
"Ducit, et immemores non
"sinit esse sui."

His pet birds and squirrels.

etiam, et mures silvestres, qui vulgari vocabulo Scurelli[1] dicuntur, adeo sibi domesticos efficeret et mansuetos, ut de silva exeuntes, et horam cœnæ quotidie observantes, commensales eos in cellula sua, et non in mensa solum, sed etiam de disco proprio et manu comedentes, sibique fere jugiter assistentes haberet. Compererant enim ipsa quoque quodammodo sylvestria innatam animi ipsius benignitatem et innocentiam. Ideoque se mansuetas exhibere viro simplici et innocuo non formidabant. Donec, hoc a priore comperto, ne nimis id ipsum delectaret, et devotionem ejus impedire valeret, quod ab his de cetero cessaret mandatum suscepit.

Sent into England, as prior of Witham.

Cum igitur ordinis austeritati tantæ rigorem etiam in se quantum potuit vir Deo ex toto datus adjiceret, et tanquam inter nebulas gloriæ solare lumen erumpens, Cartusiense cœnobium sanctissima conversatione sua jam aliquamdiu feliciter illustrasset, ad cellam quamdam ordinis ejusdem, ab Anglorum rege Henrico secundo nuper in Anglia fundatam, in australibus scilicet insulæ partibus, cui loco vel a candore Witham, vel a sapientia Wittham,[2] litera geminata, barbara
101. quondam lingua nomen imposuit, prior ejusdem et præceptor est transmissus.

His good government of Witham.

Quanta vero maturitate pariter et modestia domum illam, tam doctrina interius et morum venustate, quam providentia exterius et vigili per omnia solicitudine gubernaret, noster quidem digne explicare stilus non prævaluit. Inter cetera vero plurima sanctissimæ suæ conversationis indicia, nec illud reticendum esse cen-

[1] Hugh's pet squirrels are not mentioned elsewhere. The Metrical Life however (ll. 345–350), in a passage evidently taken from this of Giraldus, describes his "curam "avium, curamque ferarum."

[2] Compare *Mag. Vit.* 67; the author of which gives only this latter derivation,—"mansio, sive "habitatio sensus." It was believed, he adds, that the place had acquired this name prophetically,—"futuro-"rum quodam præsagio."

suimus, quod aviculam quamdam, quæ Burneta[1] vocatur, adeo et hic in cellula sua mansuetam habebat et domesticam, ut quotidie ad mensam suam, tanquam innata viri benignitate comperta, de manu ipsius et disco pabulum et escam sumptura veniret. Hoc autem omnibus et singulis anni diebus, præterquam solo nidificationis tempore, faciebat. Per illud enim tempus totum absens existens, naturæ licentius indulgebat: sed quæ solum ab ipso recedebat, quasi moræ diutinæ compensatione reddita, tempore completo cum turba redibat; et pullos, plena jam pennarum et firma maturitate suscepta, more solito ad mensam veniens domino suo præsentabat. Hæc autem viro benigno, per triennium integrum, tam delectabilis et admirabilis quoque vicissitudo duravit; donec, anno quarto, avicula casu aliquo ut creditur exstincta, non absque viri sancti 102.
et benigni molestia grandi, jam cessavit.

His pet bird.

Quoniam igitur unguentum effusum nomen ejus, cum non solum domum suam, sed etiam australem Britanniam totam, doctrina ipsius et moralitas plurimum irradiasset, regisque notitiam, qui frequenter eum visitabat et libenter ipsum audiebat, familiaritatem plurimam et dilectionem sibi comparasset, in Lincolniensem antistitem, cleri et capituli consona et canonica quidem electione, populique totius applausu, necnon et principum assensu, est sublimatus: tanquam scilicet super pauca fidelis inventus, ideoque a Domino supra multa constitutus.

Cant. i. 2.

His favour with Henry II.

Is made bishop of Lincoln.

[1] This, about the *Burneta*, is closely followed in the Metrical Life (ll. 605–610).

[Cap.] II.

De pontificali ejusdem in omnibus conversatione, et contrariorum detestatione.

His anxious discharge of his episcopal duties.

Quanta[1] vero et quam vigili cura, jam in episcopum consecratus et inthronizatus, cuncta quæ ad episcopum spectabant complebat officia; præcipueque in puerorum confirmationibus, ubi Spiritus amplior gratia confertur, et ecclesiarum consecrationibus, ubi sponso sponsa conjungitur, ceterisque sacramentis ecclesiasticis cunctis, ad episcopi officium specialiter assignatis, quam solicitum et quam infatigabilem se exhibuerit, Lincolniensis novit ecclesia tota.

[Cap.] III.

De puerorum confirmationibus, ubi Spiritus gratia datur; quam infatigabilem se in his exhibere curaverit.

103. As, for instance, in case of confirmations.

Contigit enim et hoc pluries,[2] quod cum ecclesiam aliquam suæ diocesis hiemali tempore solemniter consecrando, laboriosum officium illud usque ad vesperam fere produxisset, collecta ibidem et congesta puerorum chrismati sacro signandorum multitudine magna, ceteris cunctis fatigatione pariter et fame affectis, solus ipse qui plus omnibus laboraverat neutro retardatus, nec labore fatigatus, opus operi adjiciens et continuans, pueros per ordinem confirmavit; et non absque suorum tædio magno, sciens et probans honorem hunc et onus suum annexum habere, usque ad magnam noctis

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[1] In this, and the two following chapters, Giraldus is followed by the author of the Metrical Life. For this chapter, compare lines 734–736.

[2] Compare the Metrical Life, ll. 737–745; where, though plainly poetizing from this of Giraldus, the author seems to speak of only one such case, instead of many.

partem gravi et operoso huic officio pie et devote indulgere non cessavit.

Would never confirm from on horseback. The importunate old man, clamouring to be confirmed.

Accidit autem aliquando,[1] quod cum, magna hominum multitudine in loco quo ad hoc convocati fuerant ab ipso confirmata, jam inde discedens equum ascenderet, quoniam ob sacramenti reverentiam semper hoc opus pedes explebat,[2] et versus locum alium non procul inde distantem, propter id ipsum ubi coadunati fuerant, cum festinatione transiret, ecce rusticus quidam e vestigio sequens et currens, magnaque voce clamans, devote sacræ confirmationis munus expetiit. Cui cum renunciaret episcopus, non semel sed sæpius, quatinus ad locum condicti satis propinquum cum aliis accederet, se rusticus id facturum omnino negavit, sed a cursu statim in sessionem versus, defectus illius periculum, cœlum suspiciens et manus ambas illuc tendens, epi- 104.
scopo imposuit. Quo audito, quoniam crebro quid acturus esset ille præsul respiciebat, et lora retrahebat, illico reversus, et ab equo dilapsus, illum confirmare non tardavit. Sed quoniam in senium jam ille vergebat, quia sacramentum hoc saluti necessarium tam diu impetrare distulerat, faciei ipsius alapam dextra manu fortiter inflixit.

Hugh confirms him: and slaps his face.

The rustic, clamouring for his child's name to be changed.

Quadam autem die,[3] cum fatigatus plurimum esset et vexatus, tam opere tali quam itinere, rusticus quidam solus, in collo suo puerum ferens, ipsum itinerantem est cum grandi clamore secutus. Episcopus autem, puerum putans ad confirmandum afferri, statim descendens exspectavit. Et cum stolam assumeret, et

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[1] This, of the old man's confirmation, is in the Metrical Life, ll. 746–764. It does not occur elsewhere.

[2] The fact of Hugh, in his reverence for the sacrament, refusing to confirm from on horseback, is dwelt upon by the author of the *Magna Vita* (140, 141), with severe reflections upon what he had seen done by some other bishop.

[3] This, about the rustic asking to have the name of his child changed, is followed very closely in the Metrical Life, ll. 765–792. It does not occur elsewhere.

chrismale paratum esset, dixit ille puerum quidem confirmatum esse; sed ut felicior et fortunatior esset, nomen ei per episcopum mutari vellet. Quod audiens episcopus, antiquum gentilitatis errorem, necnon et sortilegæ vanitatis crimen abhorrens, quæsivit ab eo quod nomen puer haberet. Et cum responsum accepisset quod Johannes, ait; "O vere villane, insipiens "et vesane! Qui melius ei nomen quæris quam Jo-"hannes, quod *Dei gratia* sonat." Et protinus ei pœnitentiam ob hoc injunxit; quatinus per totum scilicet annum illum, omnes sextas ferias in pane et aqua

Hugh enjoins him a year's penance.

105. jejunaret, et in cibo quadragesimali quartas anni ejusdem ferias omnes.

[Cap.] IV.

De innata[1] *viri pietate ac liberalitate.*

His remission of the Heriot ox.

Item tam pia gestabat hic viscera, tamque per omnia rerum terrenarum minime cupida, ut cum bovem defuncti cujusdam[2] de feudo ipsius, tanquam meliorem mortui possessionem, juxta terræ consuetudinem domino debitam, ministri ejusdem abduxissent, uxor ejus statim ad episcopum accedens, quatinus bovem illum, qui solus ei superstes fuerat ad puerorum sustentationem, miseræque familiæ jam patre privatæ, remitti juberet cum lacrimis imploravit et impetravit. Quod videns senescallus loci ejusdem, ait illi; "Domine, si "hæc et similia vobis de jure competentia sic remi-"seritis, terram nequaquam tenere poteritis." Episcopus autem, hoc audito, statim ab equo dilapsus in terram, valde tunc ibidem et profunde lutosam, ambabus manibus plenis lutum tenens, "Nunc," inquit,

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[1] *innata*] "sancti" instead in Table of Chapters, p. 83 *supra*. Where also "pariter" after *pietate*.

[2] This again, about the Heriot ox, is closely followed in the Metrical Life, ll. 793-813. It does not occur elsewhere.

"terram teneo, et tamen mulieri pauperculæ bovem "suum remitto." Et sic manibus luto projecto, et in altum suspiciendo, subjunxit; "Nec enim terram te- "nere deorsum, sed cœlum potius desuper quæro. "Duos tantum laboratores mulier hæc habuit; melio- "rem ei mors abstulit; et nos alterum eidem aufere- "mus? Absit a nobis aviditas ista. Quoniam con- "solatione digna magis nunc foret, in hoc tanti luctus "articulo, quam majori afflictione." 106.

Item[1] filio quoque militis de feudo suo centum solidos, post mortem patris more patriæ domino quasi pro relevatione debitos, simili pietate remisit: dicens iniquum esse nimis et injuriosum, quia patrem amisit, ideo et pecuniam quoque amittere debere;—"Per nos "utique duplex ei tribulatio non consurget."

Remission of a Relief of 100*s*., on death of a knight.

[Cap.] V.

De ecclesia Lincolniensi, ab eodem miro lapideo tabulatu constructa; et longe mirifice ac magnifice magis ab ipso ex vivis lapidibus adornata.

Item Lincolniensem beatæ Virginis ecclesiam, a viro sancto, loci ejusdem antistite primo, beato scilicet Remigio, juxta morem temporis illius egregie constructam, quatinus modernæ novitatis artificio magis exquisito, longeque subtilius et ingeniosius expolito, fabricam conformem efficeret, ex Pariis lapidibus, marmoreisque columnellis, alternatim et congrue dispositis, et tanquam picturis variis, albo, nigroque, naturali tamen colorum varietate distinctis, incomparabiliter, sicut nunc cerni potest, erigere curavit eximiam.[2]

Lincoln cathedral built by Remigius. Rebuilt by Hugh in the new style.

[1] This also is followed closely in the Metrical Life, ll. 814–822; and does not occur elsewhere.

[2] The author of the Metrical Life, instead of following Giraldus, here becomes an original writer; and gives us a long and very interesting account, descriptive and symbolical, of Hugh's new church; ll. 833–965.

But better built up by him of living stones.

Nec solum ex insensibili materia locum illum sic illustravit: verum etiam ex vivis lapidibus, omni marmore, omnique auro, argento et ebore pretiosioribus, longe excellentius et laudabilius, ex eruditioribus et honestioribus Angliæ personis, firmas et fidelissimas ecclesiæ suæ columnas erexit. Unde et ad ipsum illud
107. poeticum laudis elegantis eloquium non ineleganter dirigi posse dignoscitur;

Claud. Stilich., ii. 122.

"Lectos ex omnibus oris
"Evehis; et mores,[1] non quæ cunabula quæris."

[Cap.] VI.

De realibus horis omnibus quas diligenter explebat: et præcipue septima, qua se infatigabilem exhibebat.

His unwearied devotion in burial of the dead.

Ad hæc etiam,[2] cum reales horas omnes et singulas devota mente semper expleret, maxime tamen et præcipue in septima, mortuorum scilicet corporibus sepeliendis, se commendabilem et infatigabilem exhibebat.

As at Lincoln.

Accidit enim ut, quadragesimali tempore quodam, longa dieta grandique peracta, cum Lincolniensem longe post nonam urbem intraret, in urbis introitu australi audiens corpus humanum inhumatum jacere, statim illuc accedens, et quanquam itineris labore vexatus plurimum et fatigatus, nihilominus tamen illud devotissime sepelivit. Eoque peracto, cum ad partem urbis borealem, versus ecclesiam ædesque pontificales accederet, audito et in ulterioribus finium illorum

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[1] *mores*] Instead of this, Claudian has "meritum."

[2] *Ad hæc etiam, &c.*] The first four sections of this chapter, down to *defectus imputari*, are followed in the Metrical Life, ll. 974–1005. The instances here given of Hugh's devotion in burying the dead, are not mentioned elsewhere. Other like instances are given in the *Magna Vita* (225–233), which dwells much upon the subject. There is a brief mention of it in the papal Report (Harl. 526, § 5), and in the Legend (cap. 3, Appendix D. *infra*).

urbis partibus corpus sepeliendum esse, illico et illuc accelerans, laborique laborem adjiciens, et nihil prorsus omittens, sed cuncta potius plenarie complens, et illud quoque sepulturæ dedit. Et sic, tanquam duplici victoria palmam reportans, parum ante vesperam, non absque suorum tædio et murmure magno, ad cœnam accessit. 108.

Again, at Le Mans: though on his way to the king's council.

Cum autem, mandato regis Henrici secundi, in transmarinis quandoque cum ipso Normanniæ et Aquitanniæ partibus ageret, apud Cenomanniam existens, cum a rege vocatus esset, quatinus summo mane consiliis ejus assisteret, ipse, sicut moris habebat, nihil ad Deum spectans et ad ordinem suum propter seculares curas unquam omittens, nocturnis horis et matutinis expletis, necnon et missa debita cum solemnitate celebrata, demum versus curiam equitans, quatuor defunctorum corpora diversis in locis obiter inventa, unum post alterum ordine quo reperta fuerant, nec cursim et præpropere, sed debita cum maturitate et morositate sepelivit. Et sic ad curiam veniens, et tam archiepiscopos et episcopos quam barones et proceres, qui sicut vocati fuerant illuc summo mane convenerant, simul inveniens, cum de negotiis regiis nihil actum ab ipsis adhuc aut tractatum fuisset, nullam omnino moræ suæ tam diutinæ mentionem audivit, aut indignationem incurrit.

Punishment of his almoner, when not telling him of a funeral.

Hoc quoque prætereundum non putavi, quod quoties in loco ubi erat episcopus mortui sepeliendi rumor ad ipsum non perveniret, elemosynarius ejus, cui præcipuam inquisitionis hujus curam injunxerat, tanquam lege data et incuriæ ipsius ultione statuta, eo die in pane et aqua jejunabat.

109.

His rebuke of bishop Hugh of Coventry.

Quodam autem festo confessoris cujusdam et non pontificis, Hugo[1] Conventrensis episcopus, mane simul cum Lincolniensi missam auditurus, ejus introitum incepit, scilicet "Os justi meditabitur sapientiam," voce

[1] Hugh de Nonant, bishop of Coventry 1188–1198.

rotunda, et prosaica pronunciatione, non melica. Lincolniensis autem, eundem introitum statim alta voce incipiens, cum melica debitaque modulatione protraxit. Et cum Coventrensis subjungeret, "properandum potius "nobis esse propter regem, qui nos cum festinatione "vocavit," respondit Lincolniensis, "Quinimmo propter "Regem regum, cui potissime est obsequendum, et "cujus obsequiis propter seculares curas nil subtra-"hendum, festive potius hoc festo et non festine est "agendum." Et sic, missa demum ad finem usque debita cum solemnitate producta, Lincolniensis ad curiam solita cum gravitate et maturitate perveniens, quanquam ceteri vocati longe ante venissent, cunctis rebus agendis integris adhuc et illibatis, nullus omnino moræ ipsius potuit defectus imputari.

A.D. 1189. Hugh abroad, following Henry II.'s court.

Hoc etiam inter cetera notabile censui, quod æstate illa qua rex Henricus quem sequebantur in transmarinis partibus occubuit, cum pluries acciderit quod propter dies arduis negotiis ejus agendis a principe præfixos, festa valde solemnia, scilicet Ascensionis,
110. Pentecostes, Sanctæ Trinitatis, ceteraque similia, debita cum solemnitate peragi non possent, ceteris tam archiepiscopis quam episcopis iter his diebus agentibus,

His strict observance of solemn festivals.

et versus curiam accelerantibus, solus Lincolniensis episcopus,[1] tam festivis diebus festive se habendo, et moram faciendo, modis omnibus summo Deo sanctisque suis morem gerere satagebat; tantisque solemnitatibus solemnizandum potius, et festivandum, quam itinerandum et festinandum, dignum esse ducebat.

Unde et Deo, cujus obsequiis et honori tantis nisi-

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[1] Hugh was in Normandy, at Le Mans, in the beginning of February 1189; *Epist. Cant.* (283, Stubbs). *Ben. Abb.* (ii. 66, Stubbs) mentions his presence at the conference at La Ferté Bernard, about the end of May; and (ii. 75) his licence from Richard to return home, towards the end of July.

Of what Giraldus here tells us, about Hugh in Normandy in 1189, there is no mention elsewhere. Giraldus was himself in Normandy, following the court, at the time.

bus indulgebat, actus ipsius prosperante, et tanquam honorem ejusdem vice versa conservante, contigit ut dicti dies omnes, conciliorum tractatibus præstituti, variis ut fieri plerumque solet casibus emersis, mutati forent, et in ulteriora tempora proterminati.

Hoc etenim fixum in animo ferebat et immutabile, quod cunctis secularibus negotiis semper essent divina præponenda. Quibus expletis, et debita cum devotione præmissis, secularia subsequenter commode prosperanda, fide firmissima, Domino disponente, credebat. Noverat enim ex evangelio minora bona pro utilitate majorum esse prætermittenda; et, ut ait Ieronimus, "Non mediocriter errat, qui magno bono præfert mediocre bonum."

Always put divine before secular duties.

Ad hoc etiam, quod regi tam acceptus in omnibus et tam placabilis erat,[1] multum id facere potuit. Sciens enim et non ignorans rex tam intensam erga Deum viri sancti intentionem, plurima ejus facta tolerabilia duxit; plurimaque sub dissimulatione pertransiit, quæ forsan ab alio gesta gravem ei gignere possent indignationem.

His great favour with Henry II. 111.

Quoniam igitur divinis omnino mancipatus obsequiis, quasi pro nihilo in eorum respectu reputabat secularia cuncta, sic ei fere per omnia, Domino favorem et gratiam impertiente, ad vota successit, ut et summo Regi in nullo defuerit, et terreno principi in suis agendis nusquam defecerit; tanquam Deo duce, Deoque rectore, sic actus suos librans ac moderans, ut ordine competenti semper divina præponens, quæ Cæsaris erant Cæsari redderet, et quæ Dei Deo.

[1] As to Hugh's great favour with Henry II., see the *Magna Vita*, 75, &c.

[Cap.] VII.

De his quæ in coronatione regis Ricardi ab ipso Londoniis laudabiliter gesta sunt.

Sept. 3, 1189. Coronation of Richard I. The next morning, the bishops having to do fealty, Hugh first devoutly celebrates divine service. Then, on his way to Westminster, stops to bury a dead body.

Accidit[1] autem ut, coronato Londoniis post patris obitum rege Ricardo, cum die quodam solemni mane convenissent episcopi, regis mandato, ad pollicendum ei juxta regni consuetudinem fidelitatis obsequium, solus Lincolniensis noster in hospitio suo solita gravitate et maturitate cuncta disponens, post horas nocturnas pariter et matutinas, sole jam excelsa lustrante, missam debita cum solemnitate celebravit: quanquam
112. sæpius tamen a suis, morositatem ejus moleste ferentibus, ut ad curiam acceleraret commonitus fuisset. Demum igitur, equis adductis, versus Westmonasterium proficiscens cum parumper processisset, corpore humano inhumato in platea reperto, protinus inquiri fecit utrum Judæus an Christianus fuisset: et hoc propter stragem[2] pridie de Judæis, die scilicet coronationis, factam: et audito quod Christianus esset, statim ab equo descendens, et sui cum eo, panno novo quem emi jussit corpus insui fecit. Ipse quoque manus apponendo, et diligentiam adhibendo, suosque majores tam clericos quam laicos manus apponere compellendo, duos etiam milites de familia sua, corpus efferre, et in cœmeterio sepulchrum effodere fecit. Et sic corpus, cum exequiis debitis et obsequiis, nihil omittendo sepelivit.

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[1] This chapter is followed in the Metrical Life, ll. 1006–1014. There is no mention of Hugh's doings on this occasion elsewhere. His presence, however, at Richard's coronation, is mentioned by *Ben. Abb.* (ii. 79, Stubbs), and Hoveden (374, l. 15, Savile).

[2] For this slaughter of the Jews, on the day of Richard's coronation, see *Ben. Abb.* (ii. 83, &c., Stubbs), or Hoveden (374 b, l. 30, &c., Savile).

Yet reaches the court in time.

His itaque seriatim sic completis, ad curiam veniens, coepiscopos suos qui summo mane convenerant, una cum archiepiscopo, in camera quadam invenit; majore jam parte diei inutiliter eis et tædiose consumpta. Nec mora post ejus adventum. In cameras penitiores ad regem adducti, negotium incontinenti propter quod advenerant compleverunt.

Hic itaque vir sanctus, in cunctis agendis semper ea quæ Dei sunt anteponens, et his quæ Cæsaris erant secundo loco et subsequenter intendens, et summum
Principem principaliter ac præcipue placare curavit, et 113.
terrenum tamen nunquam, nisi facili et frivola forsan offensa, ubi etiam Deus in causa, molestavit.

[Cap.] VIII.

De rege Ricardo, ab Alemannia reverso, graviter in episcopum, causam Dei tuentem, exacerbato.

Richard's exactions upon the church.

Accidit[1] enim quod rex Ricardus, post injuriosam ipsius in Alemannia captionem, et gravissimam ejusdem postea, transmarinis Normannicæ et Aquitannicæ Galliæ partibus, guerris fortissimis et pertinacibus inquietudinem, in Anglicanam cœpit ecclesiam duris exactionibus debacchari. Unde collecto in unum regni clero,[2] habitoque contra insolitum et tam urgens incommodum districtiore consilio, verbum ad importunas pariter et importabiles impositiones contradic-

Hugh the mouth-piece of the clergy in resisting them.

[1] This about Richard and Hugh, to the end of the sixth section, *conqueri posset*, is followed in the Metrical Life, ll. 1015–1042.

[2] This gathering was at Oxford, December 7, 1197. It was not a mere council of the clergy, as Giraldus seems to say; but a general colloquy of all the barons of England, summoned by Richard's *locumtenens*, archbishop Hubert, the chief justiciary. Giraldus seems certainly wrong in saying that, in the resistance which Hugh made to Richard's demands, he was the mouth-piece of all the clergy. See the *Mag. Vit.*, 249, &c.

tionis, et cleri totius pro ecclesiastica libertate responsionis, in ore Lincolniensis, tanquam personæ præ ceteris approbatæ religionis, et authenticæ magis, communi omnium desiderio est assignatum.

Richard's indignation. Quo facto, cum ocius, ut mos est, interpretatione sinistra regiis id auribus insonuisset, tantam erga virum sanctum subito concepit indignationem, quod Orders the property of the see to be confiscated. baronia sua tota, quam *Regalia* regales appellant, ipsum illico destitui jussit; et familiares suos omnes per officiales regios modis omnibus molestari, quosdam etiam a regno perturbari, publico præcepit edicto.

Soli namque Lincolniensi, quia solus præ ceteris et
114. pro ceteris cunctis ecclesiasticam extulit in publico libertatem, totam injuriose nimis injuriam pariter atque repulsam imputavit.

Sed quoniam quod lima ferro, quod fornax auro, quod flagellum grano, quod prelum acino, quod tritura tritico, hoc tribulatio justo, vir fidelis et constans, his auditis, contra familiarium suorum monita fere cunctorum, juxta solius animi sui motum et Spiritus impetum, quia qui Spiritu Dei ducitur securus incedit, Hugh goes to the king in Normandy. versus regem Ricardum, in transmarinis tunc agentem, iter incunctanter arripuit, et mare Gallicum absque mare[1] transfretavit. Et quanquam illud poeticum non ignoraverit,

Stat. Theb., x. 704.

> "Da spatium tenuemque moram; male cuncta
> "ministrat
> "Impetus;"

et illud,

Ov. Rem. Am., 119.

> "Dum furor in cursu est, currenti cede furori;"

et illud quoque sapientis eloquium ei a mente non Prov. xix. 12; xx. 2. exciderit, "Ira principis rugitus leonis;" ad regem

[1] *mare absque mare*] What does this mean? Perhaps a smooth sea, without any heavy sea. If it means "without a male companion," it is not true. It sounds like a quotation from some earlier writer.

tamen apud rupem de Andeleiea confidenter accessit.[1]

Sciens quippe causam suam justissimam, et conscientiam per omnia gerens serenissimam, firmato ad utrumque fortunæ eventum æquanimiter animo, adoptanda quidem duxit opprobria, ubi Christus in causa; felicissimum quoque se reputans, si dignus habeatur pro Christi ecclesia contumeliam pati.

Finds the king in the chapel at Roche d'Andeli, and prevails upon him to kiss him.

115.

Ad regem itaque mane in capella apud Andeleiam veniens,[2] ipso salutato, et ad osculum tam verbo quam vultu provocato, cum rex imprimis aliquantulum se retraheret, episcopus prosequens et propius accedens, iterum ipsum ad osculum efficaciter invitavit. Rex autem, episcopo mox ut decuit in osculo suscepto, sub risus modici significantia, salva querela sua se illud ei fecisse subjecit. Episcopus autem respondit, nihil esse revera quod et ei pro certo, cum ipsi placeret, erat ostensurus, unde juste de ipso conqueri posset.

The king presents the Pax to Hugh.

Post hæc autem ad missam, quam capellanus regis celebrabat, cum archiepiscopus quidam extraneus, curiæ tunc forte sequela, de corpore Christi et ore presbyteri pacem regi portasset, ipse statim de stallo suo descendens, et ad episcopum in choro veniens, pacis osculum ei, cunctis admirantibus, ipse portavit. Et eodem die, ante prandium, lucium[3] grandem episcopo, quem a

And sends him a large pike for his dinner.

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[1] This was on St. Augustine's day, August 28, 1198. See the *Magna Vita*, 251.

[2] In the particulars of the interview of Hugh with Richard, in the chapel at Roche d'Andeli,—for instance, in the king's refusal at first to kiss him, his presenting the Pax, and patient reception of Hugh's rebukes after the service,—Giraldus agrees closely with the fuller account in the *Magna Vita* (251, &c.). Giraldus was at Lincoln at the time; and, on Hugh's return, would no doubt hear very much about so strange an interview, and one so glorious to Hugh, from those who had accompanied him into Normandy. Very probably Giraldus had heard it described from the mouth of the author of the *Magna Vita* himself.

[3] *lucium*] The *Magna Vita* does not mention this present of the pike. It speaks, however, of Hugh being honoured with "regia xenia," and entertained by Richard in the Château Gaillard; 253, last line.

Hugh's rebukes of the king.

carnibus abstinere noverat, præsentavit. Priusquam tamen a capella discederent, episcopus regem secreto conveniens, super excessibus quibusdam gravibus et enormibus ipsum corripuit, et paterno filium affectu ad emendationem invitavit. Ipse vero paternam commonitionem et castigationem valde patienter et benigne suscepit; et emendationem in omnibus humiliter et devote promisit. Inter ultima vero verba, tunc inter eos ibi conserta, rex episcopum obnixe rogavit quatinus

The king's patient reception of them.

116. negotia sua in Anglia de cetero non impediret. Ipse vero se potius ea respondit ubique pro viribus suis expediturum; dum tamen contra Deum aperta fronte non fuerint, et ecclesiasticæ libertatis honorem.

Dicebat etiam rex se id non ignorare, sed magis absque dubio certum habere, quod archiepiscopi et episcopi ceteri ea, quorum ipsi auctores extiterant, et contra ipsum machinatores, ei tanquam magis authentico, quatinus malitiam suam quasi sub ejus auctoritate velare possent, proponenda suggerebant.

Mira Dei virtus, et mira viri gratia, quod principis animus, tam effrenis et efferus et fere tyrannicus, necnon et paulo ante graviter offensus, in ipso viri gratiosi adventu, primoque ipsius propemodum aspectu, adeo incontinenti mitescere cœpit et mansuescere, quod statim rex ipsum in osculo susceperit, et digno debitoque cum honore tractaverit; et quod ipsum etiam ad propria, contra spem omnium, cum gratia plena remiserit.

Verumtamen, sicut in vita sancti cujusdam legitur, "Necesse erat ut quem gratia perfuderat ab omnibus "diligeretur."

Hugh's hilarity.

His sumptuous housekeeping.

Fere enim semper hilaritatem et jocunditatem in vultu, ex conscientiæ securitate et sinceritate præferebat. Familiamque suam totam, tam clericos scilicet, quam milites ac servientes, decenter et honeste vestiri, et in mensa sua tam ipsos quam hospites, eosque

117. præcipue, laute ac splendide exhiberi volebat. Unde

suis plerumque dicere consuevit; "Bene comedatis, et "bene bibatis, et bene ac devote Deo serviatis."

Ad hæc etiam devotissimus erat et frequentissimus in visitando infirmos, et maxime leprosos,[1] eisque benefaciendo, et tam rebus quam verbis solatium eis præstando, ipsosque in discessu suo per ordinem osculando: a quo nulla eum lepræ deformitas, ubi nec etiam oris seu labiorum forma apparuit ulla, sed tantum dentes extabant et prominebant, absterreri valebat; nec rei monstruosæ magis quam formæ humanæ osculum imprimere, ob nimiam devotionis humilitatem, et caritatis ardorem, abhorrebat.

His devout visiting the sick, especially lepers, and kissing them.

Testatus est autem magister Willelmus,[2] quem præfatus pontifex in ecclesia sua Lincolniensi canonicum instituit et cancellarium, quod in villa Newerc quemdam leprosum osculatus est episcopus sanctus Hugo: et ne magnum quid se in hoc egisse reputaret episcopus, immo potius defectum suum in hoc attenderet, quod leprosum deosculando non curaret, dixit ei prædictus Willelmus, familiaris ejus admodum et dilectus, "Martinus[3] osculo leprosum mundavit;" et respondit

The chancellor William, on his kissing a leper at Newark; and Hugh's reply.

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[1] This, about the sick and lepers, is followed in the Metrical Life (ll. 1043–1054). There is much to the same purpose in the *Magna Vita* (162, &c.); and a brief mention in the papal Report (Harl. 526, § 6), and in the Legend (cap. 3, Appendix D. *infra*).

[2] This, about the chancellor William, is followed in the Metrical Life (ll. 1055–1061). There is no mention of it in the *Magna Vita*. It is related, very similarly, in the papal Report (§ 6), and in the Legend (cap. 3). Giraldus, however, is alone, in placing the occurrence at Newark.

This chancellor William is elsewhere said by Giraldus (vol. i. 93) to have been called William de Monte, "quoniam in monte S. Ge"novefæ Parisiis legerat." It was for the sake of studying theology under him that Giraldus took up his abode at Lincoln. According to Le Neve he was also called William of Leicester, and William de Montibus. He occurs as chancellor as early as 1192. The Melrose Chronicle (Gale, i. 186) mentions his death, after Easter 1213; and adds that the next year, the interdict being removed, his body was translated into the church of Lincoln, and buried with due reverence.

[3] *Martinus, &c.*] See the *Vit. S. Martini* of Severus Sulpicius, cap. 19.

episcopus, dicti causam intelligens, "Martinus, osculando "leprosum, curavit eum in corpore; leprosus autem "osculo sanavit me in anima."

His earnest episcopal labours.

Quicquid ad officium pontificale, quicquid ad ordinis et dignitatis episcopalis spectabat honorem, totis exe-
118. qui viribus, totoque conamine effectui mancipare cura-

His fearlessness of man, and fear of God.

bat. Vix etiam nostris diebus visus est homo, in potestate simul et sub potestate constitutus, qui aut minus hominem timeret, aut plus Deum, filiali timore scilicet et non servili.

[Cap.] IX.

De regia pallii exactione; per discretionem ejusdem, et solertiam, unica pecuniæ largitione cassata.

The detestable exaction of the royal mantle: put a stop to by Hugh.

Inter multa quoque gesta ejusdem laudabilia, et collata ecclesiæ suæ beneficia, detestabilem illam exactionem pallii[1] centum librarum, quod semel incaute præstitum, personali delicto redundante nimis ad onus simile successorum, a sede sua scandalum omne removens, et maculam abstergens, in perpetuum unica pecuniæ largitione sedavit.

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[1] This, about the *pallium*, is followed in the Metrical Life (ll. 966–973). Giraldus has before spoken of this "pallium Bloetinum et Alex- "andrinum" (p. 41, *supra*). In an objurgatory letter to Hugh, about the church of Chesterton, preserved in the *Symb. Elect.*, he reminds Hugh of the sums he had had to pay, from his two churches in the diocese of Lincoln, towards the redemption of this "pallium" (vol. i. 267, l. 7). There is much about it in the *Magna Vita*; Hoveden speaks of it; and John de Schalby (Appendix E. *infra*). They do not exactly agree as to particulars; see *Mag. Vit.* 184, n. 1, and 185, n. 2. Hugh's redemption of it was effected in 1194, Richard's charter of release being dated at Le Mans, June 23 of that year.

[CAP.] X.

De olore apud Stowam juxta Lincolniam, in primo episcopi adventu, tanquam obviam ei venienti; et miro modo, vel etiam miraculoso, se mansuetissimum ei statim reddente.

Illud etiam, inter cetera ejusdem præconia, silendum esse non censui, quod, sicut tam apud Wittham quam Carthusiam [1] ab aviculis, sic statim et in statu pontificali non ab avicula, sed ab ave grandi et regia, pia et innocua quodammodo viri benignitas est comperta; propter quod et animo miti ac mansuetissimo se mansuetas et quasi domesticas exhibuerunt. Unde quod et hic contigit, et "in signum [2] aliquod, ac prognosticalis
" eventus indicium, absque dubio datum videtur, sub silentio 119.
" prætereundum non putavi. Eo namque die, vel circiter
" illum proximo, quo apud Lincolniam primo susceptus fuit
" episcopus Hugo et incathedratus, apud manerium ipsius,
" quasi per octo milliaria ab urbe Lincolniensi distans, juxta
" Stowam, silvis et stagnis delectabiliter obsitum, olor nunquam ibi antea visus advolavit. Qui intra paucos dies cignos,
" quos ibidem plures reperit, mole suæ magnitudinis omnes
" oppressit et interemit: uno tamen feminei sexus, ad societatis solatium, non fecunditatis augmentum, reservato. Erat
" enim tanto fere cigno robustior, quanto cignus ansere major:
" cigno tamen in omnibus, et præcipue in colore et candore
" simillimus: præter quantitatem etiam hoc distante, quod
" tumorem in rostro atque nigredinem more cignorum non
" præferebat, quinimmo locum eundem rostri planum, croceo-

Hugh's pet swan, at Stow.

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[1] For Hugh's pets at the Great Chartreuse and at Witham, see *supra*, 92, 93.

[2] Henceforward, this account of the swan at Stow is taken, almost word for word, from cap. 29 of the Life of Remigius *supra*. One considerable passage is here omitted (*supra*, 75, n. 1). The few variations of the text here from that before are already noted (*supra*, 73, &c.), and are not worth noting again. These, with the omission, very probably give us the text, in this account of the swan, of the first edition of the Life of Remigius; which would be the edition followed by Giraldus in this Life of St. Hugh.

The account of the swan, as here given, is closely followed in the Metrical Life, ll. 1106–1135.

" que decenter colore, una cum capite et colli parte superiore, " distinctum habebat.

" Avis autem hæc regia, et tam qualitate quam quantitate " conspicua, in primo ad locum illum præsulis adventu, quasi " sponte et absque difficultate domestica facta, ad ipsum in " camera sua propter admirationem est adducta. Quæ statim " a manu ipsius panem sumens et comedens, eique quam " familiariter adhærens, omnem silvestrem interim, ut vide- " batur, exuta naturam, nec ejus attactus, nec astantium " undique turbarum et intueuntium accessus sive tumultus " abhorrebat. Consueverat etiam interdum, cum ab episcopo
120. " pascebatur, caput, cum colli longitudine tota, in manicam " ipsius longam et peramplam, inque sinum interiorem, avis " extendere; ibique aliquamdiu, cum solicitudine quadam modo " suo domino congratulans atque præludens, tanquam aliquid " quæritando mussitare. Mirum hoc etiam, quod nemini " præterquam episcopo soli se familiarem, vel ex toto tracta- " bilem exhibebat; quin potius, astans domino, ab aliorum " eundem accessu, sicut aliquoties cum admiratione conspexi, " clamando, alis et rostro minando, voceque altisona juxta " naturæ suæ modulos crocitando, defendere solet, tanquam " se propriam ejus esse demonstrans, eique soli in signum " fuisse transmissam manifeste declarans.

The mystery of this bird.

" Non enim mysterio carere potuit, quod avis candida, " imminentis interitus cantu nuncia, viro innocenti, pio, ac " puro, mortisque minas, quia sancti mortem habent in desi- " derio et vitam in patientia, nil formidanti, divino tanquam " oraculo destinata transmittitur. Quemadmodum enim avis " ista, candore spectabilis, mortis discrimina docet non do- " lenda; et, imminente letali articulo, tanquam de necessitate " virtutem faciens, funebria fata canendo contemnit; sic viri, " virtutum meritis candidati, ab ærumnis hujus seculi læti " discedunt, solumque Deum fontem vivum sitientes, a cor- " pore mortis hujus liberari, dissolvique cupiunt, et esse cum " Christo."

The tame tit-mice, at Thornholm.

121. De avibus autem istis, tam majoribus quam minutis, sic viro sancto mansuetis effectis, et quasi miraculo quodam domesticatis, minus admirari debet, quisquis apud Torneholm in Lindeseia minutas aviculas, quæ vulgari vocabulo Mesenges vocantur, de silvis et pomeriis passim prodeuntes, canonicorum loci ejusdem manibus extensis, humeris, et capiti, escam petituras aut quæsituras, insidere conspexerit nil formidantes.

[Cap.] XI.

Qualiter demum in urbe Londoniensi gravi morbo correptus, peracto viæ et vitæ istius cursu, rebus humanis feliciter est exemptus.

Hugh's last illness. At his hospice, the Old Temple, London.

Cum igitur his, et similibus moribus et actibus, vir sanctus gloriose in terris vitam ornaret et venustaret, in brevi rapiendus e medio, ne posset in deterius forte mutari, in urbe Londoniensi apud Vetus Templum[1] in hospicio suo quasi mense Novembri graviter infirmatus et febribus exagitatus, cum in lecto ægritudinis, morbo de die in diem aggravescente, jam accubuisset, nec cilicium quo jugiter utebatur, et quo jam ex morbi vehementia, et tam calore nimio quam sudore, latera ipsius usque ad intestina fere corrosa fuerant, ad horam deponere volebat;[2] nec carneis vel ad modicum[3] uti sustinuit nutrimentis; in neutro scilicet medicis, ad hoc instantibus, et in hoc concordantibus, obtemperare volens; sed usque ad mortem magis ordinis Cartusiensis austeritatem atque rigorem observans. 122.

Sends his clerks and canons to Lincoln, to prepare for the royal congress.

Clericis autem suis et canonicis tunc dicebat, quod contra adventum regis et archiepiscopi et coepiscoporum suorum apud Lincolniam, scilicet in festo Sancti Eadmundi, illuc ire non postponerent; et ut de facultatibus suis tam regi, quam singulis ordinis utriusque

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[1] The Old Temple in Holborn, the London mansion for long of the bishops of Lincoln. It had been purchased for the see by Robert de Chesney, bishop 1148–1166: see *supra*, p. 35.

This short account of Hugh's illness and death is still more shortly followed in the Metrical Life, ll. 1136–1141. There is a very similar account, in part perhaps taken from this of Giraldus, in the Legend (cap. 9, Appendix D. *infra*). The *Magna Vita* (331, &c.) gives a long and interesting account, with which the few particulars here of Giraldus agree generally very closely.

[2] Compare the *Magna Vita*, p. 338.

[3] This is not quite true. He did submit to be forced into some small tasting of animal food. See the *Magna Vita*, p. 342, &c.

magnatibus, honor debitus et dignus exhiberetur, operam et diligentiam exhiberent.[1] Nonnullis quoque suorum, qui vix et inviti ab ipso in tali articulo discedebant, se quoque Lincolniæ tunc affuturum, quasi spiritu vaticinali confidenter asseverabat.[1]

Says that he will himself be there.

His death: about fifty years old: A.D. 1200.

Nec mora. Morbo urgentius invalescente, vir sanctitate conspicuus, rebus humanis exemptus, feliciter ab hac vita migravit ad Dominum:[2] anno scilicet ætatis suæ quasi quinquagesimo,[3] anno ab incarnatione Domini M°CC°., præsidente Romæ papa Innocentio tertio, regnantibus in Francia Philippo, in Anglia Johanne.

Explicit Distinctio prima.

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[1] So, to the same effect, the *Magna Vita*, 337. And so also the Legend (cap. 9, Appendix D. *infra*), as to Hugh's prophetic declaration that he would be present at the congress at Lincoln.

[2] He died, after sunset, on Thursday Nov. 16, 1200, during the chanting of the Compline hymns; *Mag. Vit.* 345, 354.

[3] So far as we have anything like safe grounds for forming a conclusion, Hugh was about 65 years old at the time of his death; see *Mag. Vit.*, Preface xvii., and 64, n. 2. Giraldus's *quasi quinquagesimus* is after his usual loose fashion in matters of date. He knew nothing as to Hugh's exact age; and gives a rough guess, which, far though it may be from the truth, is not much further than others of his like statements, even where it would seem impossible that he could be wrong. When stating his own age, at the times when his different works were issued, he is not much nearer the truth sometimes than in this case of Hugh's age: see vol. v., Preface lvi.; and vol. vi., Preface xl.

INCIPIT PROŒMIUM IN SECUNDAM [DISTINCTIONEM].

Quoniam autem de vita viri sancti, et ipsius in terris conversatione, quæ potius tamen in cœlis dici potuit, quo totis affectibus anhelabat, totisque desideriis aspirabat, hucusque tractavimus; non totis tamen comprehensis vitæ ipsius præconiis, sed amplius notis, et majori certitudine comprobatis; amodo de signis et virtutibus, quibus sanctum suum Dominus, post transitum ejusdem, mirificavit in terris, plantamque suam eatenus irrigavit, donec firmissime radices fixerit, et donec firmitas ejus et sanctitas omnibus amussim et 123.
indubitanter innotuerit, tractatu dilucido, Deo dante, declarabimus.

So far Hugh's Life: or rather, the better-known events of it.

Now the miracles.

[Cap.] I.

Secunda distinctio continet de corpore viri sancti ab urbe Londoniensi Lincolniam usque translato, et ibidem gloriose suscepto, multisque mirificis actibus, et tanquam miraculosis declarato.

Hugh's body carried to Lincoln for burial.

Cum itaque corpus sanctissimum, conditum ut decuit, et in feretro reconditum, de Londoniis versus Lincolniam [1] deferretur, eadem die [2] quo magnates Angliæ cum principe suo Lincolniam convenerant, juxta vaticinale verbum ipsius super hoc emissum, quod falli nec decuit nec debuit, illuc Deo sic ordinante pervenit.

The kings of England and Scotland there; Roland, prince of Galloway; three archbishops,

Aderant autem et ibi tunc, tanquam ex condicto, rex Angliæ Johannes, et rex Scotiæ Willelmus; [3] et qui nominis inter ceteros erat non modici, regulus Galwethiæ Rollandus; et archiepiscopi tres, Hubertus Cantuariensis, et Johannes Dublinensis, et [Anselmus] [4]

[1] They set out from London on Saturday November 18, and reached Lincoln Thursday November 23. The burial took place the next day. See the *Magna Vita* (370); and Hoveden (461 b, Savile), from whom we get the exact dates.

[2] *eadem die, &c.*] This is not correct. According to Hoveden (461 b, Savile), who is our great authority for this convention at Lincoln, the kings of England and Scotland arrived at Lincoln on Tuesday; and on the next day, Wednesday November 22, was the meeting on the hill outside Lincoln, when William of Scotland did fealty to John.

[3] Here again Giraldus seems certainly wrong, in saying that William was at Lincoln, when Hugh's body arrived. It is a mistake, however, in which he has good abettors, viz. Diceto, and the *Magna Vita*. But Hoveden says that William set out on his return to Scotland, early in the morning of Thursday November 23; which must have been many hours before Hugh's body could have arrived at Lincoln from Ancaster. See *Mag. Vit.*, Preface, lxvii.

[4] *Anselmus*] This is an addition in the margin, but apparently in the same hand as that of the text. He was archbishop of Ragusa in Dalmatia, and in exile in England. Hoveden (461 b, Savile) calls him Bernard. So also a writ of Henry III., August 25, 1218, ordering seizin to a new bishop of the temporalities of the see of Carlisle, of which this archbishop had had the custody by grant of king John (*Rot. Lit. Claus.*, 369). John had given him the bishoprick of Carlisle for his sustenance, until better

Sclavonensis. Item et episcopi novem:[1] et præter comites et barones regni plurimos, abbates et priores conventuales multi, cum ceteris personis ecclesiasticis variis certo numero non comprehensis. Fuerunt enim, ut perhibent, præter ceteros, baculis pastoralibus præditi valde plurimi. nine bishops; earls, barons, abbots, &c., many.

Hi autem fere cuncti quos prætaxavimus, et alii multi, extra urbem obviam corpori procedentes, exequiarum obsequium devotis ei mentibus impenderunt. Et per plateam urbis longam, et tunc temporis valde lutosam,[2] majores regni proceres, personis ad hoc ecclesiasticis vix admissis, feretrum apud cathedralem ecclesiam detulerunt. Reges etiam ipsi, archiepiscopi, et episcopi, humeros et colla submittentes, usque in ecclesiam ipsam, et ecclesiæ chorum, tam nobile thesaurum intulerunt. These meet the body outside Lincoln. 124. The nobles bearing it through the streets; kings, archbishops, &c., into the church.

Quis autem exprimere posset quanta virorum et mulierum, ad corpus in ecclesia jam positum catervatim accedentium, et feretrum osculantium, et ad corpus sacrum, pia et laudabili præsumptione pariter et devotione, nondum tumulatum, nondum signis aut miraculis clarificatum aut canonicatum, aurum et argentum offerentium, multitudo concurrit. Unde et tanta, tamque conserta, utriusque sexus, hominum ad hoc in ipso choro turba confluxit, quod vix etiam in stallis suis canonici compressi stare valerent. Vast multitudes of people in the church. Their devotion.

Hoc etiam notabile duximus, quod sicut, si apud Cartusiam vel Wittam decessisset, tantum duodecim fratres tertiidecimi exequiis assisterent, cum numerum As a Carthusian, twelve brother monks

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provided for, in June 1200 (*Rot. Chart.*, 96). This, with the church of Meleburn, was confirmed to him by the pope in May 1203 (*Rot. Lit. Pat.*, 37). How long he held the temporalities of Carlisle I cannot say: he does not seem to have acted as bishop of Carlisle.

[1] *novem*] Hoveden says there were thirteen, and gives the names of twelve. The *Magna Vita* (352, last line) says there were fourteen.

[2] The muddy streets, "ex hiemalium proluvio aquarum luto altissimo plenæ," are mentioned in the *Mag. Vit.* (373). It had before spoken of much rain during the journey from London (365, l. 25).

would have buried him; so now, twelve brother bishops.

istum[1] ordinis illius conventus non excedat, sic et nunc duodecim fratres ipsius, scilicet episcopi, exequiis ejus qui tertiusdecimus extiterat astiterunt.

Ubi et hoc quoque notabile censui, quod in exequiarum ejus celebratione, lectiones libri Job, funeri competentes, soli pronunciavere pontifices.

The offerings at his bier, in accordance with the same number twelve.

Nec hoc est sub silentio prætereundum, quod, juxta
125. numerum episcoporum, duodecim marcæ[2] argenti ad corpus eodem die sunt oblatæ; et tantum auri in annulis et monilibus, necnon et bizanciis, quasi pro tertiodecimo, scilicet defuncto, tanquam præ ceteris aureo, non deaurato quidem, immo et auro purissimo igne probato, quod marcam argenteam, aut amplius etiam, ad plenum æquiparare valeret.

His funeral notable, by two kings making peace: By abbots, Cistercians especially, escaping the royal exactions: By John's resolve to found Beaulieu abbey.

Item inter eventus quoque notabiles et illud adjicimus, quod duo reges, aliquantum antea discordes, tunc ibidem ad pacem et concordiam sunt revocati. Abbates etiam, qui propter exactiones regias illuc convocati fuerant, et maxime Cisterciensis ordinis,[3] læti abinde et in nullo gravati recesserunt. Quinimmo rex ibidem ex insperato abbatiam ordinis ejusdem in australi Angliæ parte non procul a mari, qui *Bellus Locus* nomen accepit, construere, fiscalibusque sumptibus erigere firmiter disposuit;[3] locumque simul cum prædiis et pascuis amplis assignavit.

Domino quippe totum ordinante, dignum et hoc fuit, quatinus in tanti thesauri adventu, et tanquam sponsi ad thalamum et quietis locum, cuncta cum

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[1] *numerum istum*] Thirteen, including the prior, was the normal number of monks in a Carthusian convent. See *Mag. Vit.* (Preface, xxiv, n. 2).

[2] *duodecim marcæ*] The *Magna Vita* (377, l. 2) says that in a short time the offerings exceeded 40 marcs;—this however on Thursday, after Hugh's body had been deposited in the cathedral. Giraldus is speaking of the next day, the day of the burial. But it almost seems as if Giraldus, in the case of the bishops present, and the marcs offered, fits his numbers to his fancies about the number thirteen.

[3] See the *Magna Vita* (378, and Preface, lx); and the Waverley Annals (254 and 256, Luard).

gaudio et lætitia, cuncta cum pace et concordia provenirent.

Hos igitur eventus omnes tam notabiles, et conventus, in hoc articulo sic concurrentes; et quod ejus exequiis, qui ceterorum exequias tantopere curabat, tantum honorem dedit Deus; et qui sepeliendis corporibus tanquam Tobias alter tam infatigabili studio opus et operam impendebat, ipsum quoque sepeliri tam magnifice voluit, tanquam non animæ solum victoriose in cœlis, verum etiam corpori gloriose in terris tam piæ devotionis mercede soluta; totum revera pro grandi miraculo est reputandum, et inter signa insignia quasi primum et præcipuum hoc admirandum et annotandum.

The circumstances of his funeral to be regarded as the first of Hugh's miracles. 126.

[Cap.] II.

De milite de Lindeseia; quem, ad tumbam sancti viri,[1] *gutta festra reliquit.*

Cum in Lindeseia miles quidam, tribus annis ante transitum viri sancti, gravi ægritudinis incommodo laborasset, morbum quem vulgares guttam festram [2] vocant habens in brachio sinistro,[3] quo nulla medicorum opera curari potuit, aut etiam alleviari, crebrescente jam fama de episcopo defuncto, et de corpore ipsius Lincolniam advecto et tam gloriose suscepto, tum amicorum consilio, tum propria quoque devotione, et quasi spe certa sanctitatis illius, cujus vitam et

The miraculous cure of a knight of Lindesey, of a cancer, at Hugh's bier.

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[1] *viri*] After this, in table of chapters (p. 84 *supra*), is "primo "transitus ejusdem anno." This miracle is related, much as by our author, in the papal Report (Harl. 526, § 16), and in the Legend (cap. 11, Appendix D. *infra*). The metrical Life (l. 1191, &c.) agrees with these, rather than with Giraldus. Hoveden (462, Savile), and the *Magna Vita* (375, &c.), describe two miracles on this occasion, one of which with singular diversity; but they have no mention of this knight of Lindsey.

[2] *gutta festra*] It is called "can- "cer" in the papal Report, the Legend, and the Metrical Life.

[3] *sinistro*] It is "brachium dex- "trum" in the Legend.

conversationem tam sinceram in terris et sine macula non ignoraverat, pœnitentia purgatus imprimis et confessione, devotas fundens preces, ad corpus sacrum accessit. Et cum aliquamdiu, sub feretro prostratus, in orationibus et lacrimis perseverasset, tandem exsurgens coram archiepiscopis et episcopis, ceterisque magnis viris assistentibus, brachio nudato, et morbo cunctis ostenso, ubi, carne fere tota consumpta, ossa eminentia comparebant, flens et gemens humiliter im-
127. ploravit, quatinus manu dextra[1] viri sancti brachium sua dicta infirmitate corrosum, facto crucis signaculo, contingere liceret. Cujus precibus tam lacrimosis pium præstantes assensum, tantæque miseriæ ipsius moti atque miserti compassionis affectu, desiderium ejus impleri communiter indulserunt. Nec mora. Vulnera brachii, seu potius ulcera, quæ sanie insanabili et insatiabili paulo ante defluebant, tam meritis viri sancti, quam fide quoque propria et devotione tam graviter afflicti, mox arescere cœperunt; et caro corrosa, nervique contracti et imbecilles effecti, paulatim ad pristinum robustæ valetudinis statum redierunt. Sanitate vero in brevi plene secuta, Lincolniam illico miles accessit, cum amicorum quoque sequela congratulantium et contestantium; et coram venerabilibus viris, R. decano,[2] ceterisque personis cathedralis ecclesiæ, cum canonicis in capitulo convocatis, brachium suum, quod paulo ante tam invalidum viderant, tamque horrendum aspectu et tam informe, nudum exposuit; et episcopi sancti meritis integræ sanitati sic restitutum,

This testified before the dean and chapter.

[1] *manu dextra*] According to the papal Report, the Legend, and the Metrical Life, it was not to the right hand, but to the body and uncovered face of Hugh, that the knight applied his diseased arm.

[2] *R. decano*] *i.e.* Roger de Rolderston, dean of Lincoln, 1195–1223; who, with a brother of the knight, according to Harl. 526, attested this miracle before the papal commissioners in 1219. He had been a "domesticus collateralis" of archbishop Baldwin; and had been sent by him to Hugh, soon after the latter's accession to the see of Lincoln, upon his earnest request for worthy helpers in his pastoral duties: *Mag. Vit.* 122–124.

cum gaudio magno, lacrimisque quas gaudium educit, propalavit; magnificans Deum tam admirabilem in sanctis suis, et tam gloriosum.

[Cap.] III.

De decano de Marnam,[1] *a gravi apostemate curato; et filio ipsius, a morte liberato.*

Accidit eodem anno quo vir sanctus ab hac vita migravit, quod cum decanus de Marnam a domo militis cujusdam, cujus eo die coepulator extiterat, versus domum suam rediret, non procul inde sed quasi per milliare distanti, apostema subito in ore ipsius excrevit; quod crescendo nimis invalescens, et inflatione turgescens, priusquam ad domum suam perveniret, factum est pomo silvestri in quantitate conforme. Morbo vero ingravescente, sequenti diluculo vix verbum proferre potuit, adeo ut præ nimia pestis vehementia videretur morti proximus, et ex toto fere desperanter afflictus. Sentiens autem se tanquam in extremo jam articulo constitutum, convocatis amicis, Christique sacerdotibus, et juris discretis, sano eorumdem et salubri consilio, domui suæ disponere, et testamentum condere curavit; et de legitimis agendis, juxta doctrinam ecclesiasticam, nihil omisit. Nocte vero sequente morbi malitia fortius urgente, caput ejus adeo mane inflatum extiterat, quod potius ibi monstrum informe quam humana figura cunctis intuentibus appareret.

128. Cure of the rural dean of Marnam of an abscess in the face. A.D. 1200–1.

Tertio vero die postquam morbus incepit, ei quasi laboranti in extremo, et jam in extasi posito, videbatur quod cum super eligendo pontifice Lincolniensi tractatui cum aliis interesset, miles quidam, nuncius regis, capitulo breve regium palam porrexit; quo pro clerico quodam, proprio nomine tunc nominato, non

His dream about the election of a new bishop.

[1] There is no mention of this miracle elsewhere.

autem hic nominando, rogavit quatinus ipsum in epi-
129. scopum suum eligere modis omnibus non postponerent. Et incontinenti quandam vocem audivit, quasi de sublimi dicentem et intonantem, nominatum illum nimis indignum esse tanto viro in episcopalem succedere dignitatem. Et eadem vox eidem, ut videbatur, propius accedens, ait, "Et tu quare non imprimis imaginem ad honorem sacri pontificis Hugonis, unde "sanitatem valeas recuperare?" Ille autem, hoc audito, quoad sinebat nimia debilitatis et infirmitatis anxietas, experrectus, astantes, et quasi jam moribundum lacrimis et lamentis prosequentes et complangentes, nutu convocavit; et voce tenui prout potuit notificavit, quatinus ceram ei calefactam ocius afferrent. Qua continenter allata, vix capite imaginis ab ipso formato, totum illico morbum illum, quo gravabatur in capite, subito per corpus sensit ad pedes descendere; et statim, tumore sedato pariter et dolore, facies ipsius totumque caput ad pristinam formam et sanitatem integram est restitutum. Unde cum dolor ille totus ac tumor ad partes pedum inferiores jam descendisset, præ nimiis quas ibi sensit angustiis, ad amicorum instantiam, medici cujusdam quanquam vix et invitus apponi tandem emplastra permisit. Quibus appositis, protinus incepit tam vehementi partium illarum dolore torqueri, quod ipse, medico non exspectato, sed ferro
130. mox arrepto, vincula pedum propria manu scidit, et totum incunctanter emplastrum abjecit; conjectans secum et dicens, quoniam hæc non immerito patiebatur, quando medicum alium ad inferiores partes admisit, quam illum qui superiores tam efficaci curatione sanavit.

The voice, bidding him mould an image of St. Hugh.

Quo facto, preces pias et devotas fudit ad Dominum, postulans et cum lacrimis implorans, quatinus integra sibi, per merita beati præsulis Hugonis, tam pedum scilicet quam capitis, sanitate reddita, filio quoque suo in extremis tunc laboranti, quem præ cunctis creaturis

His son also, then in a dying

plus diligebat, duplicato beneficio seu potius multiplicato, multiplici nimirum pietate præditus et incomprehensibili, vitæ metas protelaret, et tam importunos quam intempestivos jamjam urgentes, et miserum a corpore spiritum extorquentes, mortis aculeos proterminaret.

state, restored to health.

Porro, quoniam mirabilis Deus in sanctis suis, qui etiam abundantia pietatis suæ et merita supplicum excedit et vota, vir ille, voti statim compos utriusque, misericorditer est exauditus. Quapropter et pater, una cum filio quasi vitæ restituto, necnon et amicorum multitudine, quibus abundabant, et vicinorum, eis congratulantium, Deumque collaudantium, ad tumbam viri sancti Lincoln' accesserunt; communiter omnes quod actum utrique fuerat testificantes, et Deum in sancto suo magnificantes.

Testimony of friends, &c., to these miracles.

[Cap.] IV. 131.

De muliere de Keles,[1] *manibus contracta, ad tumbam viri sancti curata.*

Accidit in villa de Keles quod mulier quædam, incredula nimis et indevota, die quadam sabbati post nonam opere servili indulsit, filum scilicet in glomellum convertendo. Cum tamen vir venerabilis abbas de Flai, ex transmarinis partibus in Angliam veniens, et prædicationis officio fungens,[2] inter cetera laudabilia

The faithless woman of Keal, who worked on Saturday evening, spite of the abbot of Flaye.

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[1] *Keles*] It is "Kele" in the table of chapters (*supra* 85). There is Keal, East and West, near Spilsby. This miracle is not in the Legend, or the Metrical Life; it is very briefly related in the papal Report (Harl. 526, § 27), and again in MS. Bodley 110 (Lect. 9, § 6). The latter of these authorities tells us that the woman's name was Alice. They do not quite agree with this account of Giraldus in all particulars.

[2] The abbot of Flaye's preaching in England was in A.D. 1200. See Hoveden (466 b, Savile), Wendover (iii. 151, &c., Coxe).

duo prædicando monuit et suasit; ut diebus dominicis a publicis foris et mercaturis cuncti cessarent, et omni die sabbati post nonam a quolibet opere servili feriarent; multos etiam utriusque sexus homines ad votorum induxerat emissionem. Quorum hæc omnium vota deridens, et dicti viri boni prædicationem parvipendens, necnon et tam viri sui, quam vicinorum hoc audientium et videntium, vituperationem et correptionem omnino contemnens, operi incepto nihilominus insistebat. Nec mora. Mulier illa miserrima, videntibus qui

Has both her hands contracted.

ibi tunc aderant cunctis, clausis ambabus firmiter tanquam in pugnum manibus, subito in terram corruit velut exanimis aut amens effecta. Omnes autem hoc videntes, et ultionem divinam tam manifestam attendentes, stupefacti valde et consternati, ad ecclesiam concurrerunt, et tam personæ quam clericis ecclesiæ quod acciderat intimarunt. Et illi statim decano suo

132. plebano, et postea, simul cum illo, loci illius archidiacono miraculum hoc significarunt. Quod etiam non solum in ecclesiis, verum et in foris publicis et conventibus, quatinus unius punitio multorum sit munitio, quatinus unius fletus multorum sit metus, quatinus unius error multorum sit terror et horror, quia

Ov. 3 Pont. ii. 9.

"Cum feriunt[1] unum, non unum fulmina terrent,"

per provinciam totam est publicatum.

Processu vero temporis, mulier illa dicto incommodo fatigata plurimum et afflicta, sibique suisque prorsus inutilis effecta, demum amicorum consilio Lincolniam, ad tumbam viri sancti, tremulis et lassis passibus, debilis et imbecilla transivit. In primis igitur ad pœnitentialem, subdecanum scilicet Willelmum,[2] virum

Comes to the tomb of St. Hugh. The penitentiary, William

[1] *feriunt*] Ovid has "feriant."

[2] He is mentioned as subdean and penitentiary in the *Magna Vita* (174, l. 30), where he is called William de Branfed. The Waverley Annals call him William de Bramford. He was murdered in the cathedral, before the altar of St. Peter, by a vicar of the church, on Sunday September 25, 1205; Wor-

eruditum et discretum, confessione purganda devote profecta, hoc inter cetera, quod ei infortunium istud, sicuti credebat, pro peccatis suis acciderat, et exprimens maxime quibus, est professa. Pœnitentialis autem, putans quod audiebat trutannicum et fictitium esse, manum mulieris manibus ambabus arripuit, eamque, vires apponens omnes, vi voluit aperire et extendere, nec profecit. Penetrans igitur et vagis urbem totam circuiens passibus, et tanquam amens effecta, pugnos ambos pariter collisit, et quandoque caput, quandoque cetera membra quæ attingere poterat, pugnis cædere non cessavit. Demum autem Cantuariam transiens, sanctum Thomam adivit. Ad cujus tumbam cum fessa dormiret, vocem ei dicentem audivit, quatinus Lincolniam quam citius rediret, ad tumbam beati Hugonis sanitatem procul dubio receptura. Quæ statim exsurgens, et versus Lincolniam iter accelerans, dominica palmarum ad tumbam sanctam accessit; et inter pugnos candelam tenens, pro sanitate recuperanda lacrimosas ad Dominum et ad sanctum suum preces effudit. Et cum dictus Willelmus subdecanus ad altare sancti Johannis Baptistæ, quod tumbam viri sancti collateralem a sinistris et proximam habet,[1] missam de die tunc celebraret, dum passio legeretur, una manus mulieris super tumbam erecta est et extensa, et altera similiter paulo post, priusquam missa celebrata fuisset. Videntes autem hi qui aderant, et contractam manibus antea noverant, tam clerici quam laici, Dei virtutem tantam et signum insigne, mirabilem Deum in sanctis suis collaudarunt.

(de Bradfeld), subdean, discredits her tale.

133.
She goes to St. Thomas of Canterbury: whence she is sent back to Lincoln.

St. Hugh's tomb on left side of altar of S. John Baptist. She recovers the use of her hands.

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cester Annals (i. 479, Wharton), and Waverley (257, Luard). According to the latter authority, the murderer met with very summary Lynch-law: — "In eadem ecclesia " . . . statim membratim discerp- " tus est; et extra ecclesiam trac- " tus, extra urbem suspensus est. " Quod totum factum est in domi- " nica."

[1] So the *Magna Vita* (377) describes Hugh as buried near the altar of St. John Baptist, on the north side of the church.

The testimony to this miracle.

Ad majorem quoque rei gestæ probationem, et miraculi certitudinem, milites quidam de Lindeseia, et viri fide dignissimi, qui eam ab initio sic contractam viderant, et inutilem diutius et invalidam, Lincolniense capitulum intrantes, tactis sacrosanctis evangeliis, palam et publice juraverunt, hanc eandem esse revera quam antea viderant in Lindeseia, vindicta divina manus ambas in pugnum clausas et contractas habere. Unde et præcentor Willelmus, qui paulo post episcopus Lincolniensis effectus est,[1] eodem palmarum die, in sermone suo ad populum, solemniter hoc miraculum promulgavit.

134. It is solemnly promulgated by the precentor.

[Cap.] V.

De muliere de Beverlaco[2] hydropica, ad tumbam viri sancti curata.

The woman of Beverley, three years afflicted with dropsy.

Mulier quædam de Beverlaco hydropico per triennium morbo vexata graviter fuit et occupata; adeo ut non solum faciem et tibias, verum etiam ventrem et corpus totum, in modum vesicæ perlucidum haberet

[1] William de Blois, precentor of Lincoln in 1196, was consecrated bishop August 24, 1203.

[2] *de Beverlaco*] This is not in the table of chapters (*supra* 85). This miracle is not in the Legend, or the Metrical Life. It is very briefly related in Harl. 526 (§ 25); where however the name of the woman is given, viz. "Matildis de "Beverlaco." It is far more fully related in MS. Tanner 110 (Lect. 9, § 11), though far less fully than here by Giraldus. The Tanner account, so far as it goes, agrees exactly as to particulars with this account of Giraldus; and agrees also so closely in wording, as to prove certainly that the two accounts were derived from the same source. And this source, no doubt, was the register of miraculous cures regularly kept by the custodians of Hugh's tomb. To show the verbal agreement, I add the beginning of the account in the Tanner MS.;—"Mulier quædam de Be-"verlaco morbo hydropico diu "graviter vexata fuit, et adeo occu-"pata, ut ventrem et corpus totum "in modum vesicæ perlucidum ha-"beret et inflammatum. Quæ, "præ verecundia pariter et morbi "angustia, solum natale relinquens, "Lincolniam pervenit."

et luridum, distentum enormiter et inflatum. Cum autem vir ejus multum in medicis inaniter consumpsisset, adeo ut apporiatus jam plurimum fuisset, et tædio quoque nimis affectus, mulier præ verecundia pariter et morbi angustia solum natale relinquens, et Lincolniam adiens, ibique per mensem moram faciens, victumque ut potuit nendo perquirens, viri sancti suffragia pro sanitate recuperanda precibus assiduis efflagitavit. Tandem vero tanquam desperans effecta, se sanctum martyrem Cantuariensem Thomam, causa sanitatis vel ibi obtinendæ, firmiter adire proposuit. Et cum ad tumbam præsulis Hugonis, quasi licentiam a sancto prius acceptura veniret, et devotis ibidem precibus diutius perseverasset, tandem sopore correpta, vocem hanc tanquam a tumba provenientem audivit; "Surge, mulier, quia curata es." Illa vero statim, hoc audito, tam stupefacta plurimum quam etiam gavisa surrexit; et incontinenti zona ipsius qua cincta 135.
fuerat, cujus ambitus ob ventrem turgidum nimis et tumidum amplus erat valde, circa pedes ejus clausa deorsum subito corruit; et gracilis illico, absque ulla inclusi liquoris infusione, juxta pristinum sanitatis statum reperta fuit. Et cum custos tumbæ, cum ceteris qui aderant, quæsissent ab ipsa quænam esset, et unde illuc advecta, et quo morbo laborasset, totumque per ordinem ab ore ipsius audissent, totumque capitulo canonicorum id notificassent, convocatis his cum quibus illa per mensem in urbe moram fecerat, et ab illis quoque rei gestæ veritas et inquisita est diligenter et patefacta. Capitulum vero Lincolniense, cupiens etiam super his amplius certiorari, literas suas et nuncios fideles ad capitulum Beverlacense destinavit, rogans et monens quatinus et ipsi veritatem diligentissime super his inquisitam ipsis renunciarent. Illi vero, ad mandatum et preces capituli Lincolniensis, convocatis hominibus fide dignioribus, de tribus vicis proximis ubi nata fuit mulier et nutrita, per sacra-

After a month's prayers at St. Hugh's tomb in vain, resolving to go to St. Thomas of Canterbury, is at length perfectly cured.

Inquisition as to this cure by chapter of Lincoln.

Enquiries of the chapter of Beverley.

mentum ipsorum tam super evangelia quam super corpus beati Johannis de Beverlaco corporaliter præstitum, veritatem quam mulier ipsa professa fuerat, ab eis inquisitam et patefactam, literis suis sigillo beati Johannis signatis capitulo Lincolniensi rescripserunt.

The canons, &c., satisfied.

Quo demum testimonio plene certificati pariter et exhilarati, canonici et clerici Lincolnienses, facta pro-

136. Procession to the tomb, and publication of the miracle.

cessione ut decuit, pulsatisque campanis, dictamque mulierem ad tumbam beati Hugonis ducentes, Deoque gratias communiter agentes, miraculum hoc solemniter populo prædicandum, et publice propalandum, tunc denique dignum duxerunt.

[Cap.] VI.

De juvene;[1] *qui visum, quo diu jam caruerat, ad tumbam viri sancti recuperavit.*

Cure of a blind man, a pensioner of the canons, &c., of Lincoln.

Adolescens quidam, inter canonicos et cives Lincolnienses nutritus, tempore jam multo visu caruerat; nubecula quadam pupillam ejus obtegente, adeo ut cilia claudere vix potuisset. Hic ad tumbam viri sancti, vigilia Pentecostes, devotus accessit; noctemque per illam totam in lacrimis ibidem et orationibus per-

At Prime, on Whit-Sunday, when crowds of worshippers in the church.

severavit. Mane vero, circa horam primam, cum eum dormientem ad tumbam inventum a somno excitassent, ne ab hominum frequentia circiter horam illam ad tumbam confluentium comprimeretur, statim illi exsurgenti ab oculis ejus undique tanquam albumen ovi defluebat. Nec mora. Se visum recepisse proclamavit, Deo et beato Hugoni gratias referens. Hoc itaque sæpius iterando et vociferando, præ gaudio quoque

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[1] This miracle, not mentioned by other authorities, is briefly related in MS. Tanner 110 (Lect. 8, § 6); where the patient is described as a "mendicus, nomine Symon, qui "per plures annos cœcus mendi-"cabat inter canonicos Lincolniæ."

proclamans, et palmas ad insimul percutiens, clamore tali simul et gestu multos ad se intuendum et admirandum convocavit. Plurimi vero, qui cœcum illum satis antea noverant, tam clerici quam laici, Deum communiter et sanctum Hugonem laudaverunt: sta- 137.
timque, simul cum tumbæ custodibus, miraculum istud tam manifestum decano et subdecano, necnon et universo capitulo tunc præsenti, ex ordine propalarunt. Juvenis autem qui visum susceperat, ad jussionem illorum eis in capitulo est præsentatus; ubi non solum civium qui bene eum noverant testimonio, sed etiam decani ipsius, de cujus elemosyna jam diu fuerat sustentatus,[1] et aliorum quoque quorundam de capitulo, declaratum est hoc miraculum et approbatum. Et eodem Pentecostes die, in sermone ad populum facto dignis præconiis est propalatum.

[Cap.] VII.

De juvene quodam de Hanecastro,[2] in amentiam verso, ad tumbam viri sancti sanitati restituto.

The young man of Ancaster, cured of madness.

Juvenis quidam de Anecastro, in phrenesim versus, et amens effectus, a parentibus et amicis ad plurima loca sanctorum, causa sanitatis recuperandæ, frustra circumductus, tandem Lincolniam ad tumbam sancti Hugonis, astrictus vinculis et ligatus, est adductus. Ubi cum septem diebus continuis moram juxta tumbam fecisset, cum precibus et lamentis, et de die in diem melius habere cœpisset, die dominica divinis auditis, et ad altare beati Johannis Baptistæ juxta tumbam sacramentis Dominici corporis debita devotione

[1] *fuerat sustentatus*] Tanner, 110, adds that after his cure he was long maintained in the dean's household: "Quem postea retinuit decanus in "domum suam per plures annos."

[2] *Hanecastro*] It is "Anecastro" in the table of chapters, *supra* 85. There is no mention of this miracle elsewhere.

perceptis, juvenis ille, tam viri sancti meritis, quam suorum quoque devotionibus, integræ sanitati est restitutus. Unde et paulo post domum per se regreditur,
138. catenas manibus deferens quibus ligatus fuerat; dicens se meritis beati præsulis Hugonis solutum esse, et integræ sanitati restitutum. Pater autem ejus, cum eadem hora, ab agro revertens, filium suum juxta matrem sane et discrete in verbis et gestibus se gerentem invenisset, admiratus est plurimum, et ultra quam credi possit exhilaratus. Nec mora. Parens uterque, cum amicis et vicinis suis plurimis, quibus miraculum istud notum extiterat, Lincolniam venientes, et Deum in sanctis suis collaudantes, decano et capitulo communiter istud declararunt.

[Cap.] VIII.

De viro quodam de Stubetre;[1] *qui ad tumbam viri sancti visum recuperavit.*

Cure of a blind man of Stubetre.

Vir quidam in villa de Stubetre, oculorum lumine privatus, ad tumbam beati Hugonis adductus, cum feria sexta post vesperas illuc pervenisset, ibique in lacrimis et precibus devotissime pernoctasset, diluculo post matutinas, meritis viri sancti, desiderati luminis gaudia recuperavit. Inventus autem ibidem mane, a clericis ecclesiæ et custodibus tumbæ, gaudens et videns, Deumque laudans et sanctum Hugonem, coram ecclesiæ canonicis est adductus.

Inquisition as to this miracle.

Capitulum vero, amplius super hoc certiorari cupiens, capellano de Stubetre literis suis et nunciis significarunt, quatinus ille veritatem diligenter inquisitam ipsis indubitanter explicaret. Ille vero, die nativitatis beatæ Mariæ, cum pluribus
139. et majoribus ac melioribus villæ suæ de Stubetre, ad ecclesiam Lincolniensem accedentes, coram episcopo

[1] This miracle, again, does not occur elsewhere.

Willelmo, et capitulo ad hoc congregato, sacramentis coram omnibus corporaliter præstitis, rem ita in veritate se habere, sicut vir ille prædixerat, affirmarunt. Episcopus autem, de veritate tam evidenti securus effectus, solemniter hoc miraculum, eodem die, in sermone suo ad populum pronunciavit.

Witnesses examined on their oaths. Solemn proclamation by the bishop in his sermon to the people.

[Cap.] IX.

De puella de Wicford, tibiis totis et poplitibus contracta, ad tumbam viri sancti curata.

Cure of the girl Alice, a cripple, of Wikeford.

Puella quædam[1] in vico de Wikeford, cui nomen Aliz, nocte visionem vidit, quod vir quidam eam in aera sustulit, et diu super aquam magnam toto corpore suspenso tenuit; et quod tandem illam in aquam eandem præcipitavit, ubi nihil aliud nisi certissimum mortis periculum exspectavit. Mane vero facto, cum domina sua diem comperit, mirata est ancillam suam præter solitum somno diutino detineri. Quæ, multoties eam clamose vociferando, tandem ipsam a somnis excitavit. Quæ cum primo tibias et crura flectere, et ad surgendum sibi attrahere vellet, totisque nisibus hoc attentaret, quia totum corpus a zona inferius tanquam mortuum habebat, non profecit. Domina vero ipsius, cui revelaverat illa, ut potuit, incommodum suum, anxia nimis et dolens, inque Deum et sanctum
Hugonem certam fiduciam figens, mulierem illam ad 140.
tumbam beati Hugonis deferri fecit. Cui, feria tertia post diem palmarum, circa horam primam, nervi tibiarum et crurium stridorem facere grandem et strepitum, cunctis audientibus qui aderant, tunc cœperunt. Illa nimirum paulo post unam tibiam ad se traxit, et post aliam; et deinde surrexit, Deoque et sancto Hugoni

[1] This miracle, again, does not occur elsewhere.

devotas gratias agens. Cum autem fama miraculi istius ad dominam suam citius pervenisset, illa, exhilarata plurimum et stupefacta, vicinos suos quam plurimos et vicinas, qui famulam suam contractam viderant, ad tumbam secum adduxit; rem quam viderant et optime noverant communiter contestantes, et sacramento corporaliter præstito confirmantes. Hæc autem comprobatio facta fuit feria tertia septimanæ paschalis, anno sexto postquam beatus Hugo ab hac vita migravit.

This miracle proved, on oath, Tuesday in Easter-week, A.D. 1206.

Vision of Philip the sub-dean;

Ad hoc autem miraculum plenius comprobandum, narravit magister Philippus,[1] Lincolniensis ecclesiæ tunc subdecanus, R. decano et universo capitulo, visionem quam viderat nocte dominica subsequente, post matutinas; hanc scilicet; cum lecto dormiret, vir quidam venerabilis ei apparuit, dicens semel et iterum ut surgeret, et ad ecclesiam quamcitius pergeret. Ille vero respondit se paulo antea ab ecclesia venisse. Prædictus autem vir ille denuo dixit ei, quatinus surgeret velociter, et ecclesiam incunctanter adiret, quia gloria Dei
141. descendit de cœlo in ecclesiam, et maxime super tumbam sancti episcopi Hugonis. Ad hanc autem vocem expergefactus a somno, sicut ei videbatur, et exsurgens, ecclesiam ingrediebatur; et accedens ante altare sancti Johannis Baptistæ, et circa tumbam viri sancti, visus est sibi tantam claritatem videre, quantam antea nunquam viderat. Hanc quoque visionem, sicut ipse asseruit, ostendit ei Deus; quia prius de beati viri sanctitate parumque hæsitaverat. Sed post hanc visionem, sanctitatis ipsius publicus prædicator effectus est et assertor.

before a doubter of Hugh's sanctity.

[1] Philip the subdean does not appear in Le Neve, or in other published lists of Lincoln dignitaries.

[Cap.] X.

De puero in Wicford muto, et ad tumbam viri sancti curato.

Puer quidam[1] in urbe Lincolniensi, vico scilicet de Wikeforde, nutritus erat, mutus per tres annos existens; et adeo linguam palato firmiter hærentem habens, quod escas solidas masticare non potuit; nec cibis aliquibus vesci nisi tantum mollibus et sorbilibus consuevit. Et quoniam hic educatus erat in domibus Adæ majoris et Reimbaldi divitis, aliorumque majorum de vico illo, procurantibus ipsis, in vigilia assumptionis beatæ Virginis, et caritative commotis, ad ecclesiam cathedralem beatæ Mariæ, et ad tumbam beati Hugonis est adductus. Ubi cum nocte tota pervigil in orationibus, et devotione qua sola potuit, pro sanitate recuperanda, Dei sanctique sui suffragium implorasset, in matutinarum hora cœpit per pavimentum juxta tumbam se volutare, et voces clamosas emittere. Adeoque, tanquam rabie phrenetica, se undique proripuit, quod vix a duobus hominibus teneri posset. Nec mora. Cum post graves hos et miserandos labores, ad tumbam parum obdormisset, visum erat ei in somnis quod domina quædam incomparabilis excellentiæ, et episcopus venerandæ reverentiæ, sustulerunt eum ad locum amœnum et præclarum, ubi et episcopus dominæ humiliter et devote supplicavit, quatinus illius vinculum solita solvere benignitate ac pietate dignaretur. Cui domina piissima precibus obnixis clementer obtemperans, et digito linguam ejus, ut ei videbatur, paulatim sublevans, vinculum illud quo lingua ligabatur totum abrupit. Quo viso, statim expergefactus ille prosiliit, exclamans Anglice; Deoque gratias, et sanctæ Mariæ, et sancto Hugoni, de sanitate recu-

Cure of the dumb boy of Wikeford; a pensioner of Adam the mayor, of Reimbald Rich, &c.; on the Assumption of B. V., about the hour of matins.

142.

[1] This miracle is briefly related in Tanner 110 (Lect. 9, § 3).

perata, semel et iterum immo et multipliciter tumbam deosculando, devotius egit. Matronæ vero civitatis, quarum circa tumbam vigilantium cum luminaribus suis grandis copia fuit, quæ mutum optime noverant, miraculum hoc tam insigne videntes, maritos suos, quibus similiter non ignotus fuerat, utpote de quorum elemosynis diutius extiterat sustentatus, ad hoc mira-
143. culum videndum, nunciis ocius missis, invitarunt. Quibus ad hoc confluentibus, cum aliis multis idem audientibus, factus est concursus populorum magnus; adeo ut, sole orto, repleta promiscui sexus hominibus fere fuerit ecclesia tota; Deum et sanctum Hugonem glorificantium, et præ gaudio miraculi tanti, quod oculis suis videre meruerunt, collaudantium. Mane vero, circa primam, capitulum super hoc ad unguem, adeoque ut nihil supra certificari volens, Adam prælatione majorem, et R. agnomine divitem, aliosque quam plures de civibus illis, circiter quos et de quorum elemosynis diutius fuerat sustentatus, convocaverunt; et veritate rei ipsius diligentius ab ipsis inquisita, cognoverunt et cum gaudio susceperunt, sacramento quoque ab ipsis corporaliter præstito, ita revera fuisse, sicut mutus eloquio restitutus fuerat protestatus. Et tunc demum qui mutus fuerat, cum processione dignoque tripudio, ad tumbam sancti Hugonis est transductus, et inter ceteros ibi mirifice et magnifice curatos annumeratus.

The matrons, then keeping vigil at Hugh's tomb.

Inquisition before the chapter.

Witnesses on their oath.

Procession to the tomb, and enrolment of the miracle.

[Cap.] XI.

De puero de Potteregate similiter muto, et ad tumbam viri sancti curato.

Circiter id ipsum tempus, puer quidam[1] mutus nutritus erat in vico de Poteregate bonorum virorum

Cure of a dumb boy of Pottergate.

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[1] This miracle seems to be just barely mentioned, after the last, in Tanner 110 (Lect. 9, § 4).

elemosynis. Qui, audito miraculo de muto de Wikeford, destinaverunt eum, in festo sequenti nativitatis 144.
beatæ Virginis, ad tumbam sancti Hugonis, innuentes ei quatinus mente devota sanctum Hugonem pro sanitate sua recuperanda deprecaretur. Qui cum ibidem cum lacrimis et lamentis pernoctasset, circa finem matutinarum fessus ad tumbam obdormivit. Qui cum a confluentibus illuc populis orandi gratia, sicut ea hora fieri solet, premeretur, evigilans clamavit, "Deo "gratias et beato Hugoni refero, quia nunc inconti-"nenti mihi loquela est restituta." Clerici vero in Poteregate manentes, qui mutum optime noverant, et matronæ vici ejusdem, ad tumbam tunc vigilantes, quæ eum nutriverant, viso miraculo, exsilientes per vicos clamabant, quia mutus ille ad tumbam sancti Hugonis jam recte et expedite loquebatur. Clerici vero, chorum ingredientes, illis qui in choro fuerant miraculum hoc nunciaverunt. Canonici vero, volentes super hoc certificari, vocari ad se fecerunt capellanum, et majores parochiæ illius. Quibus accedentibus, tam juvenes quam senes utriusque sexus, ut mos est in tantæ et tam prodigiosæ novitatis ostento, cum eis convenerunt. Capellanus autem, inspectis sacrosanctis evangeliis, juravit se vidisse eum mutum; et quod viderat eum lingulam habentem, tanquam esset aviculæ, in confinio gutturis, ita quod vix eam videre 145.
potuit. Similiter et alii hoc idem juraverunt. Canonici autem, his auditis, cum gaudio ad tumbam accedentes, pulsatis campanis omnibus, Deum et sanctum suum Hugonem dignis debitisque præconiis glorificaverunt.

On the nativity of B. V.

At end of matins; when crowds of worshippers present.

Clerks and matrons keeping vigil at the tomb.

Inquisition as to this miracle.

Procession to the tomb. The bells rung.

[Cap.] XII.

De puella de Wicford[1] *furibunda, ad tumbam sancti viri curata.*

Cure of the mad girl of Wikeford.

Modico post tempore, quoniam ad festum sancti Michaelis proximo subsequens, quædam puella de Wikeford in phrenesim rapta fuit; adeo ut vincta diutius, et graviter vexata, tandem ad tumbam beati Hugonis, circa festum apostolorum Simonis et Judæ, adducta fuit. Quæ juxta tumbam usque ad festum Omnium Sanctorum commorans assidue fuit. Cujus nocte fere tota clamosis plus solito vocibus ecclesiam et chorum valde turbavit; adeo etiam quod ad altare sancti Johannis Baptistæ, quod tumbæ præminet, missa celebrari non potuerit. Omnes siquidem ecclesiam intrantes, eamque tanta rabie vexatam esse videntes, et miseriæ suæ misericorditer condolentes, Deum pro sanitate sibi restituenda devotissime deprecabantur. In diluculo vero vexata nimium, juxta tumbam obdormivit; usque dum turbarum frequentia eam conculcantium excitata resedit. Quæ statim surgens, sapienter et discrete tam in opere se gerens quam
146. sermone, peplo quod ei donatum fuerat recte satis et discrete caput suum involvit. Et sic surgens, et ad tumbam accedens, flexis genibus Deo et sancto suo Hugoni sapienter et devote preces effudit: dicens astantibus, et alta voce proclamans, meritis sancti Hugonis sibi sanitatem esse restitutam. Matronæ vero civitatis, quæ et ipsam de elemosynis suis educaverant, et de tanta morbi sui vehementia nimium lamentatæ fuerant, lætabunde nunc exultantes, Deo sanctoque Hugoni gratias ob hoc miraculum agere non cessarunt. Illa vero, sanitati restituta, in brevi

On All Saints' day.

About dawn; when a crowd of worshippers.

Had been a pensioner of the matrons of the city.

[1] This cure of the mad girl of Wikeford does not occur elsewhere.

postea psalterium didicit; bonisque moribus et honestis ex toto inhærere cœpit. Unde et vir bonus, decanus Lincolniensis ecclesiæ Rogerus, ipsam in hospitali Lincolniæ caritatis intuitu collocavit. Ubi morbidis et ægrotis nocte dieque diligenter obsequitur et devote.

Placed by the dean as a nurse in the hospital.

Quæ sicut ad tumbam viri sancti sanitatis obtinuit gratiam, sic et meritis ejusdem caritatis perseverantiam, necnon et finalem auream sive aureolam, cum ceteris cunctis tam hic sanitati restitutis, quam et ibidem pia suffragia sincera devotione postulantibus, valeant et gaudeant obtinere quam optant: præstante Domino nostro Jhesu Christo, qui cum Patre et Spiritu Sancto vivit et regnat Deus in secula seculorum. Amen.

[Cap.] XIII. 147.

De finali tanquam epilogo, novisque scriptoribus spe remunerationis et condignæ retributionis exercitio dato.

His itaque signis et virtutibus, aliisque plurimis sub hoc compendio non comprehensis, priusquam interdicto tam inopinato et tam diuturno Anglicanæ ecclesiæ organa suspensa fuerunt, Dominus sanctum suum in terris clarificavit. Ad ea vero tractanda quæ postea contigerunt, et quotidie fere adhuc contingunt, per viri sancti merita, Christi magnalia, novo alterius studio, novoque beneficio, quia "Non omnia possumus omnes,"[1] locum damus. Quoniam,

The foregoing miracles not all, before the Interdict. After ones left for other writers.

"Non mihi si linguæ centum sint, oraque centum,
"Ferrea vox,"[2] digne promere cuncta queam.

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[1] Virg. Ecl. 8, 63.

[2] *Ferrea vox*] So far, these lines are from Virg. Georg. 2, 43, and Æn. 6, 625. The two lines, exactly as here, have occurred before in the *Exp. Hib.* (vol. v. 326).

Who will be amply rewarded by Hugh de Wells, now bishop.

Porro scriptores novos, novis studiis tam sua quam coepiscoporum suorum gesta declarantes, et scriptis egregiis Lincolniensem ecclesiam illustrantes, Hugo, successor Hugonis, jure succedaneo literatos promovendo viros, et studiosos remunerando labores, ad scribendum per ampla beneficia provocabit. Qui utinam tam his, quam aliis præconialibus ejusdem titulis, ejus expressa vestigia sequi, et sicut nominis et dignitatis, sic et ominis et felicitatis, mereatur Hugo secundus Hugonis primi, plene per omnia, vel saltem pene, successor haberi.

Quatinus tertia Lincolniensis ecclesiæ lampas per-
148. lucida, eandem ecclesiam, triplici fortiter patrono suffultam, et sic jam terque quaterque beatam, multiplici virtutum lumine reddat illustrem.

[DISTINCTIO TERTIA.[1]]

[CAP.] I.

Transitus de signis ante interdictum ad signa divinitus in ipso interdicto data.

Quanquam autem huic operi et delicioso labori finem hic ponere promiserimus, cum tamen nihil honestum vere valeat aut debeat amicitiæ denegari, ad instantiam viri venerabilis Rogeri decani Lincolniensis et ea miracula, quibus nubiloso nihilominus interdicti tempore divina bonitas, tanquam luculentam in tenebris lucernam accendens, sanctum suum clarificari in terris voluit et magnificari, scholastico quoque digerere stilo, ceterisque non incompetenter adjicere, dignum duximus.

At instance of Roger the dean, some miracles during the Interdict are added.

[CAP.] II.

De Johanne Burdet,[2] milite, a paralytico morbo curato.

Tempore quo rex Johannes, cum exercitu Anglicano, [primo] [3] in Pictaviam transfretavit, et expeditionem

June, 1206. John Burdet, a

[1] *Distinctio Tertia*] This is not in the MS. As before in the table of chapters (*supra*, 85), so here again, there is no heading to this third Distinction.

[2] This, about John Burdet, does not occur elsewhere.

[3] *primo*] This is an addition in the margin of the MS., but in a very similar hand to that of the text, if not the same hand. John's first expedition into Poitou was in 1206. According to Wendover (iii. 186, Coxe), he sailed from Portsmouth June 25, and landed at Rochelle July 9. His second

knight of Lindsey, struck with paralysis at the assault of Montauban.

in Gasconiam duxit, miles quidam de Lindeseia oriundus, cui nomen Johannes Burdet, in castellum Montis-Albani[1] cum ceteris insultum faciens, subito et inopinato paralysis incommodo brachio dextro percussus obstupuit. Adeo nempe morbi malitia statim invalescere cœpit, quod nullatenus aut in modico brachium erigere,
149. aut vultum suum crucis signaculo consignare, aut etiam cibum ori suo dextra porrigere manu prævaleret. Cum ergo, nec medicorum opera sumptuosa sanitate secuta, nec per sanctorum terræ illius merita, quos

After about a year comes to Lincoln.

fere per anni circulum circueundo devote requisierat, demum nec curatus nec etiam alleviatus in quoquam repatriasset, illico matrem ecclesiam suam et matricem, Lincolniensem scilicet, cum summa devotione requisivit.

Offers a wax image of his paralysed arm at Hugh's tomb.

Accedensque statim ad desideratam beati Hugonis tumbam, imaginariam brachii dextri similitudinem ceream sinistra sua, quia dextram, ut diximus, movere non poterat, super tumbam apposuit. Et sic, cum aliquot diebus ibidem victitans circa tumbam et pernoctans, lacrimosis precibus gratiam sacri pontificis

By degrees recovers his health.

pro sanitate recuperanda suppliciter exorasset, paulatim convalescere cœpit; et infra breve temporis spatium plenæ sanitatis gaudia recuperavit. Qui statim ad R. decanum et capitulum accedens, seriatim eis rem gestam totam lætabundus aperuit; faciemque suam, elevata facillime coram ipsis dextera, crucis charactere consignavit. Quo viso et audito, decanus et capitulum, cum ceteris qui tunc aderant multis, digna Dei præconia cum gratiarum actionibus extulerunt.

expedition thither was in February 1214 (*Ibid.* 280): after which date, therefore, this *primo* was added in the margin.

[1] Montauban castle was taken August 1, 1206: Wendover (iii. 187).

[Cap.] III.

De Matildide[1] *cœca, ad tumbam viri sancti curata.*

In provincia de Lindeseia fuit mulier quædam, Matildis nomine, quæ cum iter agendo inter villas vicinas ad compita viarum perveniret, ecce subito irruens venti turbo vehemens eam obvolvit, et ad terram prostratam visu oculorum illico privavit. Quo comperto, quidam forte transiens notus ipsius, eique compatiens, ipsamque ad manum trahens, secum in hospicium duxit. Illa vero, quoniam artificii sui subsidio, quo inopiam suam relevare solebat, omnino caruit; solebat enim, dum sana fuerat, arte et acu vitam sustentare; palpans, ut poterat, et ostiatim irrepens, mendicare compulsa fuit.

Matilda, a woman of Lindsey, struck blind in a storm. 150.

A needle-woman. Obliged to turn beggar.

Demum autem sano quorundam consilio Lincolniam adiens, sanctique viri ad tumbam accedens, ejusque suffragium devotissime postulans, in atrio ecclesiæ beatæ Virginis per annuum et amplius spatium moram faciens, in cœcitate permansit. Ad tumbam vero precario ducis officio sæpius accedens, crebris et uberrimis eandem lacrimarum fluentis, quas ejus eduxit tam devotio quam afflictio, vitam quippe miserrimam tædio ducens, irrigavit.

At St. Hugh's tomb, and about the church, for more than a year.

Accidit autem, anno interdicti primo, quod illa, cum aliis languidis plurimis, vigilia scilicet Pentecostes,[2] ad tumbam accessit; elemosynario decani, cui nomen Stephanus, ducatum ei præbente, candelamque manu ipsius imponente; quatinus cum aliis ibidem ea nocte

A.D. 1208, the night before Whitsunday, keeps vigil at Hugh's tomb.

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[1] This miracle is not mentioned elsewhere. A "Matildis, curata a "cœcitate" is indeed the subject of a miracle described in Tanner 110 (Lect. 9, § 1): but she cannot be the same person as this Matildis of Giraldus; the particulars, except as to the blindness, are altogether different.

[2] Whitsunday, in the first year of the interdict, was on May 25, 1208.

vigilaret, gratiamque Sancti Spiritus per merita præsulis sancti votis et vocibus invocaret.

151. A pensioner of the matrons of the city. Their vision.

Videtur hic autem et hoc inserendum, qualiter quædam urbis matronæ, quæ illi in atrio ecclesiæ jacenti elemosynarum suarum solatia conferre consueverant, firmiter eidem asseverabant, se per visum vidisse ipsam proculdubio per sancti Hugonis merita luminis lætitiam recepturam. Qua spe mulier plurimum refecta, et patientius inediam suam atque miseriam sustinuit, et longe devotius ac confidentius sancti præsulis auxilium imploravit. Noctem autem illam, ut diximus, scilicet Pentecostes, usque ad diluculum vigiliis et orationibus duxit insomnem; et tunc demum fatigata, capite in uno circulari foramine tumbæ marmoreæ posito, parumper obdormivit. Cui dormienti videbatur, quod vir quidam pulchræ staturæ, vultu decorus, candidis vestibus decenter indutus, et ornamentis episcopalibus congrue redimitus, de tumba processit, et altare proximum, sancti scilicet Johannis, adiens, missam ibidem celebravit. Qua finita, regrediens ad tumbam, cum corporalibus quæ manibus gestabat oculos cœcæ illius ventilabat, et ex calice quoque stillas infundens, ait ei, "Surge." Et cum ipsa impotentiam suam, ut ei videbatur, prætendere vellet, iteravit ille, dicens, "Surge, "quia curata es." Ad hanc ergo vocem expergefacta, mulier surrexit; seque sanam penitus sentiens, et visui restitutam, ante tumbam protinus extensis in crucem brachiis se prostravit, et alta voce Deo sanctoque præ-
152. suli Hugoni super sanitate sibi reddita gratias egit. Cuncti vero qui aderant, et hæc viderant, admirantes et congratulantes, dignas Deo sanctoque suo laudes in hoc facto persolverunt.

At dawn falls asleep, with her head in one of the circular apertures of the marble tomb. Her vision of St. Hugh, celebrating mass at the adjoining altar of St. John Baptist.

Her cure.

Hujus autem miraculi fama statim civitate repleta, matronæ, de quibus mentionem antea fecimus, una cum populi multitudine copiosa, ad contemplandum tantæ novitatis ostentum accurrerunt.

[CAP.] IV.

De Johanne de Plumbard,[1] *a gutta festra curato.*

Vir quidam, Johannes nomine, de villa quæ dicitur Plumgard, morbi incommodum, qui vulgari vocabulo Gutta-festra vocatur, in femore, multum ingravatus et debilitatus incurrit: adeo quod nec ad passum unum se movere, nec pedibus suis se quoquam transferre valeret. Qui demum salubri fretus consilio, se Lincolniam ad sanctum Hugonem, rheda conducta, deferri fecit. Et cum in ecclesia beatæ Virginis ad tumbam viri sancti per dies aliquot moram fecisset, cæmentum, quo lapides tumuli jungebantur, cultello suo abrasum, vulneribus suis, quæ morbus effecerat et cutem exulceraverat, causa recuperandæ sanitatis imposuit. Et statim vulnera, sanie defluentia, paulatim arescere cœperunt, et dolor de die in diem decrescendo præterire: adeo quidem ut infra breve tempus, plenam ibidem suscipiens curationem, qui paulo ante quasi moribundus vehiculo advectus fuerat, jamjam pedes eundo juxta rhedam, sanus et hilaris ad propria remearet. 153.

John de Plumgard cured of cancer.

By applying mortar from the tomb to the wounds. The cure gradual.

Decanus autem Lincolniensis ecclesiæ Rogerus, tanquam vir discretus et providus, ne quid dubietatis aut falsitatis forte fortuitu suboriri posset, super hoc miraculo, sicut et aliis cunctis, certificari per omnia volens, quendam vicarium ecclesiæ, quem idoneum ad hoc elegerat, usque ad villam de Plumgard, propter inquisitionem rei istius diligentissime faciendam destinavit. Et ibi, tam villæ quam viciniæ totius testimonio, super rei gestæ veritate, sicut scripto præsenti declaratur, certificatus fuit.

The dean's care to have this miracle, as also all others, well certified.

[1] *Plumbard*] It is "Plumgard" directly afterwards, in the second line of the chapter; and so in the table of chapters (*supra*, 86). I suppose it to be the now Plungar, Leicestershire. There is no mention of this miracle elsewhere.

[CAP.] V.

De milite Milone, a brachii tumore pariter et dolore curato.

Cure of Milo, a knight of Richard de Sanford's family, from a tumour in the arm after blood-letting.

Miles quidam,[1] Milo nomine, de familia Ricardi de Sanford, tertia post minutionem suam die cum domino suo et commilitonibus suis spatiatum equitans, seque cum aliis, calcaribus equis admissis, militaribus ludis exercens, suæque minutionis immemor existens, finito demum militari præludio domum reversus, sinistrum quo minutus erat brachium, dicto casu sinistro minus discrete vexatum, gravi dolore subito correptum sensit et inflatum. Sed licet anxie nimis morbi puncturas ferens, tota tamen nocte prima a domino suo, familiaque tota, incommodum hoc celavit. In crastino vero, urgente morbi gravamine jam nimio compulsus, quod accidit ei domino suo revelavit. Ille vero, cum
151. uxore, totaque familia sua, valde super hoc anxius existens, quod potuit fecit. Medicorum ei solatium, quanquam sumptuosum magis et onerosum quam proficuum aut fructuosum illico perquisivit. Medici vero, post operas longas et sedulas revera magis quam utiles, plusque promissionis habentes quam curationis, de sanitate penitus diffidentes, qui fortunam sequi solent, militem desperatum reliquerunt; dicentes et communiter asseverantes totum ei mundum ad salutem suffragari non posse. Audiens autem hæc sponsa dicti R. de Sanford, ad militem visitandum tristis accessit; eique ut votum suum Deo, et sanctæ Mariæ Lincolniensi, sanctoque Hugoni faceret, salubre consilium dedit. Quo facto, sicut ei fideliter consultum fuerat, militi, sancti Hugonis auxilium devote et obnixe postulanti, statim sanitas est restituta. Cruor namque putridus,

Though given up by the doctors.

Simply by devoutly imploring Hugh's help.

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[1] There is no mention of this miracle elsewhere.

cum sanie simul aspectu horribili, a vulnere brachii quo minutus fuerat undanter erupit, et abundanter effluxit. Sicque, sedata grossitie brachii, cum inflatione tota, qui morti paulo ante fuit expositus, per sancti Hugonis merita plenæ sanitati est restitutus. Miles autem, accepti beneficii nec immemor nec ingratus, cum intimæ devotionis affectu versus Lincolniam iter arripiens, ad ecclesiam beatæ Virginis, tumbamque beati præsulis gratanter accessit; statimque formam brachii sui curati, de cera expressam et effigiatam, super tumbam obtulit; et post devotas orationes, et 155.
largas oblationes ibidem factas, cum turba stipantium eum et congratulantium, Deumque laudantium, capitulum intravit; magistro Philippo subdecano in absentia decani ibidem tunc præsidente. Cui rem gestam totam, sanitatemque plenam post desperationem tantam, per sancti Hugonis gratiam sibi restitutam, in publica audientia replicavit; multis astantibus et contestantibus, Deumque et sanctum Hugonem in hoc miraculo, sicut et in ceteris cunctis, communi applausu collaudantibus.

Offers a waxen effigy of his arm at Hugh's tomb.

Philip the sub-dean, receives the attestations to this miracle.

[Cap.] VI.

De juvene paralytico et contracto, ad tumbam sancti viri curato.

Adolescens quidam[1] adeo paralysi percussus erat, quod a zona inferius nec membrum aliquod movere, nec quicquam etiam sentire valeret. Qui et in hac

Cure of a paralytic.

[1] This miracle is related more briefly in the Legend (cap. 13, Appendix D. *infra*); and again, in nearly the same words, in Tanner 110 (Lect. 8, § 2). Giraldus agrees closely with them as to particulars, and so closely also in verbal expressions, as to render it clear that the three accounts are derived from one common source. These authorities give us, however, the additional information that the paralytic's name was John, and that he lived long afterwards in the minster-yard, a pensioner on the bounty of the canons.

Long bed-ridden in the hospital. Afterwards a mendicant in the minster-yard. On the feast of the Assumption, at the tomb. His vision of the clerks at the Baptist's altar: and of the bishop, bidding him rise.

languescens ægritudine, per quatuor annos et dimidium in hospitali Lincolniensi lecto jacuerat; et per annum postmodum et dimidium, in atrio matricis ecclesiæ se receperat, ante januam præcentoris habitaculum habens. Hic autem, exemplo quampluriuin denique ductus, quos, ad tumbam sancti Hugonis curatos, ad propria lætos redire videbat, vigilia assumptionis beatæ Virginis se in ecclesiam et usque ad tumbam transferri fecit. Et sic, nocte eadem tota, cum lacrimis et suspiriis, Deo, sanctæque matri ipsius, sanctoque præsuli Hugoni, pia fundere precamina non cessavit. Mane vero facto, cum parumper obdormisset, visum eidem in
156. somnis fuit, quod clerici duo, stolis albis induti, proximum altare, scilicet sancti Johannis Baptistæ, tanquam ad missam celebrandam decenter adornarunt. Quo facto, episcopus quidam, mitratus, et episcopalibus competenter indutus, vultu pariter et statura venustus, versus altare per ipsum transiens, dixit ei, "Surge." Cui ille; "Et quomodo surgam, qui me de loco quo "jaceo movere non possum?" Episcopus autem ad altare accedens, missam ibidem celebravit. Eaque completa, cum ministris suis per languidum eundem rediens, caputque suum ad ipsum inclinans, et in vultum ejus insufflans, dixit ei, "Surge, tibi dico, Surge," et sic disparuit. Contractus autem ad hanc vocem evigilans, crura sua et tibias quasi ferro sensit perforari. Sed quamvis anxiatus plurimum, et vulnerum veluti recentium dolore gravatus, tanti tamen præceptis viri parere cupiens, surgere pro posse conatus est: statimque, cruribus et tibiis extensis, sese in stationem erexit: sed nutans in primis et titubans, protinus in terram corruit; iterumque per se surgens, firmius stetit. Sorores autem præscripti hospitalis, quæ in languore suo ei ministraverant, simulque in vigiliis et orationibus tunc præsentes extiterant, videntes eum erectum, et pedibus suis ambulantem, gaudio magno gavisæ sunt; et muliebriter vociferantes et exultantes, cum universis

The sisters of the hospital witnesses to the miracle.

qui tunc aderant et hæc viderant, mirificum Deum in sanctis suis, et gloriosum in cunctis operibus suis, voce 157.
communiter præconiali magnificabant.

The precentor Geoffrey's testimony.

Præcentor autem ecclesiæ, vir bonus et veneratione dignus, nomine Gaufredus, cujus ad januam diu languens ille jacuerat, de elemosynis ejusdem sustentatus, fama sanitatis illius audita, fide oculata rei certitudinem cum desiderio probans, Deum omnipotentem lætabundis vocibus et votis glorificavit.

Testimony, at same time, of a canon of Worksop to another miracle.

Publicato vero sic miraculo, coram multitudine cleri et populi, in capitulo Lincolniensi, et omnibus Deum in commune laudantibus, ecce canonicus quidam[1] de cella de Wirkesope, nomine sanctæ Margaretæ Graves, in hujus miraculi recitatione festinus pariter et festivus, ad duplicandam seu potius multiplicandam sancti sui in terris gloriam, tanquam a Deo missus advenit. Ait enim et assertive proposuit, plurima in ecclesia sua per merita beati Hugonis facta fuisse miracula. Quorum unum in publico tale recitavit.

The bedridden man from near Lynn.

In provincia de Len fuit vir quidam, multo tempore corporali ægritudine lectum tenens, et gravi languore laborans. Accidit autem ut nocte quadam dor-

[1] There is no mention elsewhere of this canon of Worksop, and the miracle which he was sent to announce; and I can find no mention of this Worksop cell of St. Margaret's Graves. Felley priory, Notts, dedicated to St. Mary, was originally a cell of Worksop, but soon became independent, probably before Giraldus wrote this Life of St. Hugh. I find no other direct mention of any cell of Worksop; but there seems to have been a cell, or grange, at Gringley, Notts, which may have been this St. Margaret's Graves of Giraldus. In Richard de Lovetot's confirmation charter of his father William's foundation of Worksop, is this; "Confirmo etiam "donum matris meæ Emmæ, ... "in Gringeley juxta ecclesiam a "parte orientali mansuram unam, "a parte meridiana mansuram "unam, ad proprios domos canoni- "corum, cum quodam spatio ad "pomerium faciendum, sicut per "fossatum clauditur; et totam gra- "vam sicut per fossatum cingitur; "et extra fossatum unam mansu- "ram atte vinas" (Dugdale, under Worksop). The church of Gringley is dedicated to SS. Peter and Paul, according to Bacon's *Liber Regis*.

Bidden in vision by St. Hugh

158.

to go to St. Margaret Graves, a cell of Worksop abbey.

mienti apparens in visu sanctus Hugo, sub eadem specie quam vivens habebat, ægroto non incognita, dixit ei, "Vade ad cellam sanctæ Margaretæ Graves, "et in ecclesia illius desideratam recipies sanitatem." Cui ille; "Et quomodo," inquit, "illuc irem, qui me "de loco isto movere non possum?" Cui sanctus Hugo; "Veniam tibi in auxilium." At ille subjunxit; "Domine, nec prior loci illius nec conventus, quibus "sum prorsus incognitus, etsi illuc etiam venire pos-"sem, verbis meis fidem haberent." Cui iterum sanctus; "Vade secure, et nihil hæsitans; quoniam et hæc "intersigna priori loci illius dices, quod cum ultimo "tumbam meam visitavit, eundo ad nundinas sancti "Botulfi, devote supplicavit pro quodam negotio quod "et impetravit;" idemque negotium ægro propalavit. Experrectus igitur ægrotus, et de visione tali lætus effectus, rhedam ut potuit qua deferretur perquisivit; eaque impositus, et per dietas suas usque ad dictam cellam transvectus, priori, cum quo fandi copiam statim habuit, causam adventus sui, et intersigna quæ a sancto Hugone ad ipsum acceperat, intimavit. Quibus auditis, quia neminem præter se solum hujus secreti conscium habuerat, prior ipsum in ecclesia sua gaudenter admisit. Qui et eadem nocte, divinæ pietatis gratia, perque viri sancti merita, promissæ sanitatis gaudia recuperavit.

The private token to the prior.

Boston fair.

Cure of the sick man.

159. Prior autem loci illius et conventus, tam super visione tali quam etiam miraculo tanto non mediocriter exhilarati, dictum canonicum suum, hæc referentem, et una cum visione miraculum hoc recitantem, Lincolniam destinarunt. Quod etiam quasi pro miraculo quodam reputari potuit, quod in ipsa quoque tam solemni prioris miraculi recitatione, divina bonitate ad multiplicandam sancti viri gloriam id totum ordinante, de remotis finibus ex insperato novi miraculi cum visione laudabili fidelis et fide dignus recitator advenit.

Intererant autem horum recitationibus miraculorum,

in capitulo Lincolniensi, personæ ejusdem ecclesiæ tres, Gaufredus præcentor, Reimundus[1] archidiaconus Leicestriæ, Willelmus archidiaconus de Westredinge,[2] et canonici ac clerici ecclesiæ plurimi, necnon et laici multi, Deum publice laudantes, et vocibus ac votis in hujuscemodi præconia, Deique magnalia prorumpentes: "Mirabilis Deus in sanctis suis," et "Magnus[3] in "omnibus operibus suis;" item, "Magnus Dominus "et laudabilis nimis, et magnitudinis ejus non est "finis;" Quique "De fine in finem attingens fortiter, "et disponens omnia suaviter," vivit et vincit, regnat et imperat, in secula seculorum. Amen.

Dignitaries, canons, &c. present in chapter at the recitations of these miracles.

Ps. lxvii. 36.

Ps. cxliv. 13, 17, & 3.

Sap. viii. 1.

Explicit.

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[1] This Reimund, archdeacon of Leicester, is spoken of in high terms in the *Magna Vita*. The author of which tells us that he was said to be a kinsman of bishop Hugh, who made him a canon of Lincoln. In the beginning of June 1200, he entertained Hugh at Paris, when the latter was on his way to the Great Chartreuse (*Mag. Vit.* 303). He was then studying theology at Paris, as afterwards in his exile during the Interdict; some time in the course of which, he entertained in his hospice the author of the *Magna Vita* for nearly three months (304, 305). He must, however, have been at Lincoln some time during the Interdict, if Giraldus is right in what he here says. His name occurs as archdeacon of Leicester as late as 1222 (Hardy's Le Neve).

[2] *Westredinge*] *i.e.* of Lincolnshire; the archdeaconry of the West Riding being the same as the archdeaconry of Stow. In Domesday the North, South, and West Ridings of Lincolnshire are spoken of. In the *Registrum Magnum* of the dean and chapter, there are many continuous pages of deeds relating to places in this archdeaconry, and these pages are headed with "Westredinge."

[3] *Magnus*] The Vulgate has "Sanctus" instead.

APPENDICES.

APPENDICES.

APPENDIX A.

Remigius's Profession to Lanfranc.[1]

Tempore quo ego Remigius Dorcacensis, et Legoracensis, et Lincolniensis provinciæ, ceterarumque provinciarum quibus antecessores mei præfuerunt, sum electus antistes, sanctæ Cantuariensi ecclesiæ Stigandus præsidebat. Cum enim, contempta Helmeanensis[2] ecclesiæ mediocritate, translatus esset ad Wentanæ civitatis episcopum, stimulante adhuc majoris honoris ambitu, post paucos annos Robertum archiepiscopum partim vi partim insidiis expulit,[3] metropolem invasit, pallium quod a sede apostolica ipse detulerat cum ceteris ablatum usurpare non metuit. Qua temeritate Romæ audita, a Romanis pontificibus sæpe vocatus, tandem damnatus et excommunicatus est. Ipse tamen

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[1] Gervase of Canterbury tells us (Twysden, 1653, l. 62), that archbishop Lanfranc, after his full accession to Canterbury, "ab omnibus "suffraganeis Cantuariensis eccle- "siæ petiit et accepit professiones." The above is the profession made by Remigius, as preserved in a Cotton MS. of the British Museum, Cleopatra E. 1. The profession by bishop Wulfstan of Worcester is printed in Freeman's *History of the Norman Conquest*, ii. 607, who thanks Professor Stubbs for a copy of it. I have equally to thank him for a copy of this profession of Remigius.

[2] Stigand was consecrated bishop of Elmham April 3, 1043; was translated to Winchester in 1047, and to Canterbury in 1052.

[3] What this profession says of archbishops Robert and Stigand is, of course, the Norman and Roman version of the story. As to the English version, and a masterly discussion as to the position of Stigand, see Freeman's *History of the Norman Conquest*, ii. 339–344, and note U, 604, &c.

decem et novem annis in sui cordis obstinatione permansit. Quo tanti temporis intervallo, præfatæ Romanæ ecclesiæ pontifices, Leo, Victor, Stephanus, Nicolaus, Alexander, legatos suos suis quisque temporibus in Anglicam terram transmiserunt; et ne aliquis ad eum ordinandus accederet, apostolica authoritate prohibuerunt. Ego vero hujus negotii nec ex toto ignarus, nec usquequaque gnarus, ordinandus ad eum veni, professionem sibi suisque successoribus feci, curamque episcopalem de manu ipsius me consecrantis accepi. Post paucos dies præfatus dominus Alexander papa legatos suos in terram Anglorum transmisit, eumque deponi,[1] omnesque qui ab eo ordinati sunt aut abjici aut ab officiis suspendi præcepit. Verum te, ejusdem sanctæ metropolitanæ sedis antistes Lanfrance, Romam petente, præfatum papam adii, teque mediante indulgentiam petii et impetravi.[2] Cognoscens igitur, ex auctoritate præfati papæ, nec eum antecessorem tuum fuisse, nec te successorem ipsius existere, tibi quidem de obedientia mea scriptam professionem porrigo; meque tuis, omniumque qui tibi successuri sunt, jussionibus obtemperaturum esse promitto.

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[1] The deposition of Stigand was at the council of Winchester in April 1070 (Flor. Worc. ii. 5). Lanfranc was consecrated to Canterbury August 29 of the same year (*Ibid.* p. 7).

[2] This was in 1071. Compare Eadmer's *Hist. Nov.* (Selden, p. 7), who is closely followed by Malmsbury in *De Gest. Pont.* (Savile, 165 b), and Diceto (Twysden, 484). These writers have no mention of Remigius's consecration by Stigand, and therefore impending suspension; but they give a worse objection, made before the pope, to Remigius's promotion to Lincoln, viz., that he had by actual previous bargain procured a bishoprick from William, in return for the aid he was bringing to the conquest of England. Eadmer not unnaturally gives this, the great objection, without mentioning minor ones: this profession naturally gives only what concerned Lanfranc as primate. They agree about Lanfranc's mediation, and the pope's consequent indulgence to Remigius.

APPENDIX B.

Obituary, 12th Century, Lincoln Cathedral.

Incipiunt obitus anniversariorum per anni circulum.

Jan. 1	A.	Kl' Januarii.[1]		
8	A.	vi.	Idus.	Eodem die obiit Colsuanus[2] pater Picoti.
10	C.	iiii.	Idus.	Eodem die obiit Robertus[3] hujus sedis secundus episcopus.
13	F.	Idus.		Eodem die θ Adeliza, mater episcopi Roberti.[4]
14	G.	xix.	Kl' Februarii. Eodem die θ Godefridus, canonicus et sacerdos.	

[1] Of course, in the original, the calendar of days is complete throughout the year,—"Kal. Januarii," "iiii. " Non.," "iii. Non.," &c. I omit the days to which no entry is attached, excepting the first day of each month.

[2] Colsuen occurs in Domesday as an owner of property in Lincoln, &c. Picot, his son, must have held some high office at Lincoln temp. Henry I. In Dugdale are four charters of this king (Nos. 8, 18, 26, and 28, under Lincoln cathedral), touching grants in Lincoln or Lincolnshire, which are addressed, " Osberto vicecomiti Lincoliæ, et " Picoto filio Colsueni, et omnibus " baronibus suis et fidelibus," &c., or " Ranulpho Meschino, Osberto " vicecomiti, et Picoto filio Col- " sueni," &c. In a Peterborough Register, in a document of 1127 or very nearly, he is said to hold half a carucate of land at Riseholm, which had been given to his father by the abbot, "tali servicio, quod " esset ad placita abbatis, et manu- " teneret res suas et homines suos " in scira et in aliis locis" (*Chron. Petroburg.* of Camden Society, 175, l. 4).

The death of Beatrix, wife of Picot, occurs *infra*, March 7.

[3] Robert Bloet. See *supra*, 33, n. 4.

[4] Robert de Chesney, 4th bishop, I suppose.

Jan. 15	A.	XVIII.	Kl'.	Eodem[1] die θ Robertus, archidiaconus Lincolniæ; qui dedit quoddam virgultum, quod emit, Deo et sanctæ Mariæ.
18	D.	XV.	Kl'.	Eodem die θ Moyses clericus, qui dedit terram suam sanctæ Mariæ.
19	E.	XIIII.	Kl'.	Eodem die θ Hacon, et Quenild' uxor Martell'.
20	F.	XIII.	Kl'.	Eodem die θ Aeliz uxor Normanni. Et Johel. Ipso[2] die θ David archidiaconus; et Johel clericus.
29	A.	IIII.	Kl'.	Θ Ulf.
30	B.	III.	Kl'.	Eodem die θ Radulfus, canonicus et sacerdos.
31	C.	II.	Kl'.	Eodem die θ Ada mater Alexandri episcopi. Et Willelmus constabularius ejus.
Feb. 1	D.	Kl' Februarii.		
8	D.	VI.	Idus.	Θ[3] Gunterus canonicus.
9	E.	V.	Idus.	Eodem die θ Willelmus, archidiaconus Norhamtoniæ.[4]
10	F.	IIII.	Idus.	Eodem die θ Margareta, uxor Alueredi.
11	G.	III.	Idus.	Eodem die θ Ediva.
12	A.	II.	Idus.	Θ Quenil, uxor Willelmi filii Ag; quæ dedit terram suam sanctæ Mariæ.
15	D.	XV.	Kl'.	Eodem die θ Osbertus filius Hugonis, canonicus. Et[5] Gilbertus.

[1] This entry is in a different ink; and the latter part of it, "quoddam ". . . Mariæ," for want of room, is continued in the margin. It appears, however, to be by the same original hand.

Robert, called by Henry Hunt. "Robertus junior," was the fourth archdeacon of Lincoln (*Anglia Sacra*, ii. 695, last line but one). He was archdeacon in 1147, when Henry Hunt. wrote his epistle to Walter, *De Mundi contemptu* (*Ibid.* 694, &c.).

[2] *Ipso, &c.*] This entry is in the margin, and in different ink, but apparently by same hand. David, brother of bishop Alexander, was the fifth archdeacon of Buckingham in 1147 (Hen. Hunt., *Ibid.* 696, l. 13). He occurs in 1145, and as late as 1171 (Hardy's *Le Neve*). In the Catalogue of Books (*infra*, 170, l. 25), he is mentioned as the donor of a Psalter.

[3] This entry is in the different ink.

[4] William, nephew of bishop Alexander, was the third archdeacon of Northampton in 1147 (Hen. Hunt., *Ibid.* 696, l. 6). According to the Spalding Chronicle (*Chron. Angl. Petriburg.* of Sparke and Giles), he died in 1168. He is mentioned in the Catalogue of Books (*infra*, 168, l. 19), as nephew of bishop Alexander.

[5] *Et Gilbertus*] This is in the different ink.

Feb. 20	B.	x.	Kl'.	Eodem die θ Alexander,[1] hujus sedis episcopus tertius. Et Hawisa, uxor Walteri de Amundavilla.[2]
23	E.	vii.	Kl'.	Eodem die θ Robertus.
24	F.	vi.	Kl'.	Eodem die θ Adelelmus,[3] egregius hujus sedis decanus quartus.
26	A.	iiii.	Kl'.	Eodem[4] die ob' Ulf, qui dedit terram in parochia sancti Andreæ.
Mar. 1	D.	Kl' Marcii.		
3	F.	v.	No.	Θ Radulfus de Hesi.
4	G.	iiii.	No.	Eodem die θ Willelmus, filius Willelmi de Paris.
6	B.	ii.	No.	Eodem die θ Milesand, uxor Osberti.
7	C.	Nonas.		Eodem die θ Brand presbiter.[5] Et Beatrix uxor Picoti.[6] Et Adela mater Stephani regis.
10	F.	vi.	Idus.	Θ[4] Galfridus presbiter.
13	B.	iii.	Idus.	Eodem die θ Nicholaus,[7] canonicus et archidiaconus, qui dedit bibliothecam sanctæ Mariæ Virgini.
14	C.	ii.	Idus.	Θ[4] Rogerus.
15	D.	Idus.		Eodem die θ Nicholaus, canonicus et sacerdos.
19	A.	xiiii.	Kl'.	Eodem die θ Agnes, filia Ranulfi Ruffi; quæ dedit Deo et sanctæ Mariæ terram suam in Wicheford.
21	C.	xii.	Kl'.	Θ[4] Richilda.

[1] See *supra*, 34, n. 2.

[2] In March 1162, Walter de Amundeville, "dapifer" of the bishop, gives to the commons of the canons of Lincoln 4*s*. annual rent out of his mill of Kirchebeia (Kirkby, near Market Rasen), to be paid on the anniversary of the obit of his wife Hawisia: *Reg. Antiquiss.*, f. 56.

The death of Walter is recorded *infra*, December 20. For other members of the family, see April 5, July 22, November 11.

[3] Adelelm occurs as dean in a deed dated 1163, in the *Reg. Antiquiss.*, f. 174.

[4] These entries are in the different ink.

[5] Brand the priest gave the church of Corringham, and two and a half carucates of land, to form a prebend in the church of Lincoln, which gift confirmed by Henry I., Dugdale, No. 32.

[6] See *supra*, 153, n. 2.

[7] See note 1, p. 165, *infra*.

Mar. 22	D.	XI.	Kl'.	Θ[1] Willelmus.
24	F.	IX.	Kl'.	Eodem die θ Rogerus, archidiaconus de Bercasira, canonicus.
25	G.	VIII.	Kl'.	Eodem die θ Willelmus filius Osberti. Et Outhild soror nostra.
26	A.	VII.	Kl'.	Eodem die θ Guarinus canonicus. Et Goda soror nostra.
31	F.	II.	Kl'.	Eodem die θ Nicholaus, archidiaconus Bedefordiæ;[2] qui dedit sanctæ Mariæ missale, et calicem deauratum, et vestimentum sacerdotale.
Apr. 1	G.	Kl' Aprilis.		Eodem die θ Colegrim.
5	D.	Nonas.		Eodem die θ Goslanus de Amundavill,[3] dapifer.
7	F.	VII.	Idus.	Eodem die θ Berengarius, miles.
8	G.	VI.	Idus.	Eodem die θ Herbertus sacerdos.
10	B.	IIII.	Idus.	Θ[1] Margareta.
14	F.	XVIII.	Kl' Maii.	Eodem die θ Walterus, canonicus et sacerdos.
15	G.	XVII.	Kl'.	Eodem die θ Galfridus filius Alueredi, qui dedit terram sanctæ Mariæ.
21	F.	XI.	Kl'.	Θ[1] Reginaldus diaconus.
24	B.	VIII.	Kl'.	Eodem die θ Walterus Theotonicus. Et Ansfridus qui cognominatur Picotus. Et θ Ricardus de Heia.[4]
25	C.	VII.	Kl'.	Eodem die θ Godefridus,[5] archidiaconus et canonicus.

[1] These entries are in the different ink.

[2] Nicholas was the fourth archdeacon of Bedford in 1147 (Hen. Hunt. in *Anglia Sacra*, ii. 696, l. 16). He is said to occur in 1145, and as late as 1172 (Hardy's *Le Neve*).

[3] Jollanus de Amundeville gave land in Ouresby (Owersby, near Market Rasen) to the commons of the canons of Lincoln (*Reg. Antiquiss.*, f. 56 and 56 b); Nicholas, his son and heir, being a witness. For his wife Beatrix, see Nov. 11, *infra*.

[4] Richard de Hay was constable of Lincoln castle, and the father of Nicholaa de Hay, wife and widow of Gerard de Camville, its gallant lady constable.

[5] This I suppose to be Godfrey, second archdeacon of Leicester. See *Anglia Sacra*, ii. 696, l. 7.

Apr. 26	D.	VI.	Kl'.	Eodem die θ Walterus,[1] archidiaconus Leicestriæ.
28	F.	IIII.	Kl'.	Eodem die θ Beatrix, quæ dedit terram suam sanctæ Mariæ.
May 1	B.	Kl' Maii.		
2	C.	VI.	No.	Eodem die θ Matildis[2] regina, uxor Henrici regis.
3	D.	V.	No.	Eodem die θ Matildis regina, uxor Stephani regis.
6	G.	II.	No.	Eodem die θ Remigius[3] episcopus, Lincolniensis ecclesiæ stabilitor.
7	A.	Nonas.		Eodem die θ Gillebertus, canonicus et sacerdos.
8	B.	VIII.	Idus.	Eodem die θ Rogerus canonicus.
14	A.	II.	Idus.	Eodem die θ Nigellus[4] archidiaconus. Et Wlbertus, qui dedit terram in parochia sancti Cuthberti.
25	E.	VIII.	Kl'.	Eodem die θ Willelmus Talebot, canonicus.
28	A.	V.	Kl'.	Eodem die θ Albericus, canonicus et sacerdos.
29	B.	IIII.	Kl'.	Eodem die θ Outi filius Unni, qui dedit terram unam sanctæ Mariæ in parochia sancti Petri.
31	D.	II.	Kl'.	Eodem die θ Saherus de Arcellis,[5] qui concessit Deo et sanctæ Mariæ dimidiam carucatam terræ, quam clamabat in Asgerebi.
June 1	E.	Kl' Junii.		
2	F.	IIII.	No.	Eodem die θ Willelmus, canonicus et diaconus. Et Emma, uxor Anschetilli de Escuris. Et Robertus de Wigornia, canonicus.

[1] Walter was the third archdeacon of Leicester. *Ibid.*, l. 8.

[2] Maud, Henry I.'s queen, was a large benefactor to Lincoln. Amongst other things she gave the manor of Nettleham (Dugdale, No. 8), and land of Tixover (No. 9).

[3] See *supra*, 21, and n. 2.

[4] Nigel was the first archdeacon of Northampton, appointed by Remigius. See *Ang. Sac.*, ii. 696, l. 5.

[5] In the *Reg. Antiquiss.* (f. 16 b) is a deed of Gislebert, earl of Lincoln, addressed to bishop Robert and the dean and chapter, confirming the remission of half a carucate of land in Asgerbi, made in his presence by Saherus de Arcellis "in "fine dierum suorum."

June 6	C.	VIII.	Idus.	Eodem die obiit bonæ memoriæ Petrus abbas Messendane.[1] Pro cujus anima Hamo frater ejus, noster concanonicus et cancellarius, dedit ecclesiæ nostræ Librum Sermonum totius anni.[2]
8	E.	VI.	Idus.	Eodem die θ Radulfus, canonicus et diaconus.
11	A.	III.	Idus.	Eodem die θ Ajax, canonicus et sacerdos.
15	E.	XVII.	Kl'.	Eodem die θ Robertus del Bictur (?), succentor ecclesiæ.
17	G.	XV.	Kl'.	Eodem die θ Hugo, canonicus et sacerdos.
20	C.	XII.	Kl'.	Eodem die θ Fulco filius Aluarici.
23	F.	IX.	Kl'.	Eodem die θ Ricardus, sacerdos de Estgata; qui dedit terram suam sanctæ Mariæ.
29	E.	III.	Kl'.	Eodem die θ Sileva, quæ dedit fabricam sanctæ Mariæ. Et Willelmus canonicus.
30	F.	II.	Kl'.	Eodem die θ Galfridus de Calz, qui dedit calicem argenteum deauratum ponderis xl. sol'.
July 1	G.	Kl' Julii.		Eodem die θ Ricardus[3] archidiaconus. Et ipso die θ Jordanus[4] thesaurarius.
3	B.	V.	No.	Eodem die θ Siwardus, canonicus et sacerdos; qui dedit terram suam sanctæ Mariæ in parochia sancti Michaelis.

[1] Missenden, abbey of Austin Canons, Bucks.

[2] This book is described in the Catalogue of Books *infra* (170, l. 19) as "Sermones in ecclesia per totum "annum legendi."

[3] The first archdeacon of Lincoln, appointed by Remigius, was a Richard (*Ang. Sac.*, ii. 695, last line but two). The fourth archdeacon of Buckingham, succeeding in 1130, was a Richard (*Ibid.* 696, l. 13). To which of these this entry belongs, I am unable to say.

[4] Jordan succeeded William as treasurer (*supra*, 23), and was himself succeeded by Martin (*infra*, 167). Now Hen. Hunt.'s testimony renders it certain that Godfrey was treasurer in 1146 (*Ang. Sac.*, ii. 695, l. 38), if not somewhat later: the Epistle to Walter, in which he describes Godfrey as still treasurer, was written not before 1146, and not after the beginning of 1148. According to the published lists of Lincoln dignitaries, Martin was treasurer as early as 1160. If this be true, then the two tenures of office of William and Jordan can only have extended, at the very furthest, from 1146 to 1160.

July 10	B.	vi.	Idus.	Eodem die θ Alexander, canonicus et sacerdos.
15	G.	Idus.		Eodem die θ Rogerus filius Geroldi,[1] qui dedit sanctæ Mariæ prebendam de Asgerebi. Et Goda.
16	A.	xvii.	Kl' Augusti.	Eodem die θ Walterus canonicus.
22	G.	xi.	Kl'.	Eodem[2] die θ Willelmus de Amundevilla.
25	C.	viii.	Kl'.	Eodem[3] die θ Matilda, cujus filius dedit xii. d. annuatim Deo et sanctæ Mariæ.
26	D.	vii.	Kl'.	Eodem die θ Merewen, soror nostra.
28	F.	v.	Kl'.	Eodem die θ Johel sacerdos. Et Galfridus canonicus.
30	A.	iii.	Kl'.	Eodem die θ Gillebertus, canonicus et sacerdos. Et Demilt uxor Lewine. Ipsa, concessu viri sui, dedit terram suam sanctæ Mariæ.
Aug. 1	C.	Kl' Augusti.		
2	D.	iiii.	No.	Eodem die θ Rompharus filius Outi.
4	F.	ii.	No.	Eodem die θ Richilda uxor Fulconis.
5	G.	Nonas.		Eodem die θ Symon, qui dedit fabricam sanctæ Mariæ.
9	D.	v.	Idus.	Eodem die θ Gregorius. Et Alviva uxor Eilsi de Wicheford, qui dedit tres acras terræ sanctæ Mariæ in parochia sancti Bartholomæi.
13	A.	Idus.		Eodem die θ Matildis, quæ dedit terram suam sanctæ Mariæ in parochia sancti Augustini.
14	B.	xix.	Kl' Septembris.	Eodem die θ Willelmus de Bugenden.
15	C.	xviii.	Kl'.	Eodem die θ Lewen de Estgata, quæ dedit terram suam sanctæ Mariæ. Et Willelmus Pascher.
16	D.	xvii.	Kl'.	Eodem die θ comes Eustachius, regis Stephani filius.

[1] In the *Reg. Antiquiss.* (ff. 15–18), are a number of charters relating to this gift of Asgarby for a prebend. The first of which, Henry I.'s confirmation of the original grant of Roger Fitz-Gerold, is in Dugdale (No. 53). See *infra*, under September 11.

[2] This entry is in the different ink. William de Amundeville, brother of Walter de Amundeville (who had given 4*s.* annual rent out of his mill of Kirkby, in 1162; *supra*, February 20, n. 2), gave in addition 2*s.* annual rent out of the same mill; and also confirmed the mill of Thorp, given by his said brother Walter: *Reg. Antiquiss.*, f. 56.

[3] This entry, again, is in the different ink.

Aug.				
17	E.	XVI.	Kl'.	Eodem die θ magister Hamo,[1] cancellarius hujus ecclesiæ.
19	G.	XIIII.	Kl'.	Eodem die θ Radulfus de Munemuta, canonicus.
21	B.	XII.	Kl'.	Eodem die θ Mulier[2] uxor Fulconis.
24	E.	IX.	Kl'.	Eodem die θ Licellina,[3] uxor Hugonis Malet.
25	F.	VIII.	Kl'.	Eodem die θ Ilbertus, canonicus et sacerdos. Et Radulfus,[4] subdecanus.
29	C.	IIII.	Kl'.	Eodem die θ Robertus de Cantebrige, canonicus.
Sept.				
1	F.	Kl' Septembris.		
2	G.	IIII.	No.	Eodem die θ Mauricius, canonicus et diaconus.
6	D.	VIII.	Idus.	Eodem die θ Gleu.
9	G.	V.	Idus.	Eodem die θ Willelmus[5] rex Anglorum. Et Turstinus et Leverun, qui dederunt terram suam sanctæ Mariæ in Hundegata.
10	A.	IIII.	Idus.	Eodem die θ Petrus cantor noster, qui cognominatus est Werno.[6] Et Robertus de Heia ;[7] et Muriel uxor ejus.

[1] Hamo is said to have been chancellor as early as 1150. He certainly was in 1163 (*Reg. Antiquiss.*, f. 155). He died in 1182. A *Vet. Chron. inter Collectanea Johannis Seldeni* gives us the year as well as the day ;—" 1182. Obiit " magister Hamo, cancellarius Lin- " colniensis, xvi cal. Septembris " (Hardy's *Le Neve*, ii. 91, and n. 58). Hamo was the compiler of the Catalogue of Books, in Appendix C. *infra.*

[2] *Mulier*] So the MS.; perhaps a mistake for "Muriel."

[3] Hugh Malet of Yreby, for souls of Licelina his wife and others, confirmed to the commons of the canons of Lincoln a rent of 12*d.* from a garden near the northern postern of the Bail: *Reg. Antiquiss.*, f. 157.

[4] Ralph occurs as sub-dean in 1163: *Ibid.*, f. 56. He is a witness to a charter of bishop Robert de Chesney, erroneously assigned by John de Schalby to Robert Bloet (*infra*, Appendix E.).

[5] William the Conqueror. The death of William Rufus is not recorded.

[6] He was the first precentor, appointed by Remigius. Hen. Hunt. (*Anglia Sacra*, ii. 695, l. 45) calls him simply " Guerno."

[7] Robert de Hay was constable of Lincoln castle ; and father (?), at any rate predecessor in the office, of Richard de Hay : *supra*, April 24.

Sept. 11	B.	III.	Idus.	Eodem die θ Willelmus de Romara ; qui confirmavit prebendam de Asgerebi,[1] et dedit terram de Calis [2] sanctæ Mariæ.
15	F.	XVII.	Kl'.	Eodem die θ Tova, quæ dedit terram suam sanctæ Mariæ in parochia sancti Augustini.
16	G.	XVI.	Kl'.	Eodem die θ Willelmus canonicus.
18	B.	XIIII.	Kl'.	Eodem die θ Philippus, canonicus et sacerdos.
19	C.	XIII.	Kl'.	Eodem die θ Gillebertus, canonicus et sacerdos, filius Ricardi archidiaconi.[3] Et Ricardus clericus. Et Herveius canonicus. Et Adam de Heli, canonicus noster.
24	A.	VIII.	Kl'.	Eodem die θ Galfridus, filius Willelmi de Paris.
30	G.	II.	Kl'.	Eodem die θ Godricus clericus, qui dedit terram suam sanctæ Mariæ in parochia sancti Petri.
Oct. 1	A.	Kl' Octobris.		
3	C.	V.	No.	Eodem die θ Petrus de Melida,[4] canonicus et sacerdos.
4	D.	IIII.	No.	Eodem die θ Rainerus, canonicus et sacerdos.
5	E.	III.	No.	Eodem[5] die θ Fulco de Cheineto, canonicus.
7	G.	Nonas.		Eodem die θ Gillebertus clericus, filius Ernaldi cementarii; cujus mater dedit duas solidatas redditus Deo et sanctæ Mariæ in Newerch.
10	C.	VI.	Idus.	Eodem die θ Robertus de Cundi.[6]
12	E.	IIII.	Idus.	Eodem die θ Siwardus, canonicus et sacerdos. Et Walterus, canonicus et diaconus.

[1] In the *Reg. Antiquiss.* (f. 16 b and f. 17) are two charters of William de Romara, confirming the gift of Asgerbi for a prebend by Roger Fitz-Gerold his father, and Lucy his mother. There is also (f. 17) a charter of William "juvenis" de Rumara, confirming the acts of Roger Fitz-Gerold his grandfather and William his father. See *supra*, under July 15.

[2] In the *Reg. Antiquiss.* (f. 117) is a charter of William de Roumara, earl of Lincoln, giving one carucate of land in Kalis to the church of Lincoln. To this also William de Roumara his son is a witness. It is dated at Bulingbroch. It is followed by a charter of Henry II., confirming the gift. Kalis is, I believe, Keal near Spilsby.

[3] See the note to July 1, *supra*.

[4] His name occurs in the Catalogue (p. 170, l. 27, *infra*) as a donor of books.

[5] This entry is in the different ink.

[6] Robert de Cundi is a witness to a charter of Roger de Cundi, granting three bovates of land in Normanceby: *Reg. Antiquiss.*, f. 46.

Oct. 13	F.	III.	Idus.	Eodem die θ Engelramus, canonicus et diaconus.
15	A.	Idus.		Eodem[1] die obiit Robertus de Racolf, canonicus et sacerdos.
18	D.	XV.	Kl'.	Eodem die θ Godewinus, qui dedit Boicroft sanctæ Mariæ. Et Galfridus, canonicus et sacerdos.
20	F.	XIII.	Kl'.	Eodem die θ Willelmus filius Haconis.[2]
23	B.	X.	Kl'.	Eodem[1] die obiit Gentilius, nepos Alexandri papæ tertii, canonicus.
25	D.	VIII.	Kl'.	Eodem die obiit Stephanus, illustris rex Anglorum.
26	E.	VII.	Kl'.	Θ Simon filius Willelmi.
28	G.	V.	Kl'.	Eodem die θ Adzo, qui dedit terram suam sanctæ Mariæ juxta pontem civitatis.
29	A.	IIII.	Kl'.	Eodem die θ Ansoldus, canonicus.
31	C.	II.	Kl'.	Eodem die θ Thomas, canonicus et sacerdos.
Nov. 1	D.	Kl' Novembris.		
8	D.	VI.	Idus.	Eodem die θ [Gerardus,[3] canonicus et subdiaconus.]
9	E.	V.	Idus.	Eodem die θ Osbertus presbiter, frater noster.
11	G.	III.	Idus.	Eodem die θ Beatrix,[4] uxor Goslani dapiferi.
13	B.	Idus.		Eodem die θ Robertus, canonicus et diaconus.
14	C.	XVIII.	Kl' Decembris.	Eodem die θ Alueredus filius Radulfi filii Dorandi.
19	A.	XIII.	Kl'.	Eodem die θ Hunfridus,[5] subdecanus.

[1] These entries are in a different and somewhat later hand.

[2] William, son of Haco, is addressed as sheriff of Lincoln, in a writ of Henry I., stating his gift of the "Porta de Estgata," &c., to bishop Alexander, "ad se hospi-" tandum."

[3] *Gerardus, &c.*] This has a line of erasure drawn through it. The entry no doubt was made here by mistake. See "vi. Idus" of December, *infra*.

[4] Wife of Goslanus de Amundeville, April 5, *supra*. She was the foundress, about the middle of the twelfth century, of the Austin priory of Ellesham, or Ailsham, Lincolnshire.

[5] Humphrey, the first sub-dean on record, occurs about the year 1140: Hardy's *Le Neve*.

Nov. 23	E.	IX.	Kl'.	Eodem[1] die θ Willelmus, sacerdos de sancto Svituno; qui dedit reditum xii. deñ. sanctæ Mariæ, de terra quæ jacet in parochia sancti Eadmundi.
26	A.	VI.	Kl'.	Eodem die θ Nigellus de Albeni.
27	B.	V.	Kl'.	Eodem die θ Odo sacerdos.
29	D.	III.	Kl'.	Eodem die θ Osbertus, canonicus et sacerdos. Et Ada uxor Alani, qui dedit terram sanctæ Mariæ.
Dec. 1	F.	KL' DECEMBRIS.		
2	G.	IIII.	No.	Eodem die θ Henricus,[2] pacificus rex Anglorum. Et W?gerus,[1] canonicus et sacerdos.
3	A.	III.	No.	Θ Andreas[1] de Norwiche.
8	F.	VI.	Idus.	Θ Gerardus,[3] canonicus et subdiaconus. Et Bernardus sacerdos.
11	B.	III.	Idus.	Eodem die θ Rogerus,[4] episcopus Salesberiæ. Et Christiana,[1] uxor Alardi Thronur.
12	C.	II.	Idus.	Eodem die θ Radulfus, archidiaconus.[5]

[1] These entries are in the different ink.

[2] I believe that the now-received day of death of Henry I. is Dec. 1. But our Obituarist is far from being alone in his Dec. 2. For instance, Ordericus Vitalis, while in two cases (i. 24; xiii. 19) placing Henry's death on kal. Dec., yet in another case (xi. 5) places it on 4th Non. It is 4th Non. in William of Jumièges (684, l. 30, Camden); in the Hexham Chronicles (62 and 113, Surtees Soc.), where also the day of the week is added,—"quarto "nonas Decembris, feria secunda;" and again, in the Continuation of Flor. Worc. (ii. 95 and 97, Engl. Hist. Soc.). Malmsbury has, "Cal. "Decembris, qua nocte discessit," and "Nocte jam intempesta naturæ "cessit" (100 b, ll. 21 and 36, Savile). He died, it would seem, late in the evening of December 1, which by some would be reckoned as December 2.

[3] This entry is in the different ink. This Gerardus is probably the "Magister Gerardus canonicus" of the Catalogue, *infra*, 166, l. 30.

[4] Roger, bishop of Salisbury, was uncle of bishop Alexander of Lincoln. But the reason of his name being included in this Obituary, no doubt, was that he was a benefactor to Lincoln. He seems to have given the church of Langford, Oxfordshire (?), and land there, as confirmed by charter of Henry II.: *Reg. Antiquiss.*, f. 25 b, and Dugdale, No. 57.

[5] The first archdeacon of Leicester, appointed by Remigius, was a Ralph (*Ang. Sac.*, ii. 696, l. 7); the second archdeacon of Bedford was a Ralph, "miserande occisus" (*Ibid.* l. 15). To which of these this entry belongs, I cannot say.

Dec.				
13	D.	Idus.		Eodem die θ Ougrim, qui dedit terram suam sanctæ Mariæ.
14	E.	xix.	Kl' Januarii.	Eodem die θ Willelmus, thesaurarius noster.[1]
18	B.	xv.	Kl'.	Eodem die θ Albinus,[2] canonicus et sacerdos.
20	D.	xiii.	Kl'.	Eodem die θ Walterus de Amundevilla.[3]
22	F.	xi.	Kl'.	Eodem[4] die obiit Ricardus clericus.
24	A.	ix.	Kl'.	Eodem die θ Jordanus filius Fulconis. Et Aschetillus, canonicus et sacerdos. Atque Randulfus, canonicus.
27	D.	vi.	Kl'.	Eodem die θ bonæ memoriæ Robertus,[5] hujus sedis episcopus quartus.
28	E.	v.	Kl'.	Eodem die θ Brianus filius Petri, qui accrevit redditum nostrum xii. deñ.

[1] William was treasurer about 1150. See *supra*, 158, n. 4.

[2] This, no doubt, is the Albinus Andegavensis, one of the "personæ "honestissimæ" brought by Remigius to Lincoln, and whom Hen. Hunt. describes as "magister meus:" *Anglia Sacra*, ii. 695, l. 47.

[3] See *supra*, 155, n. 2. Walter de Amundeville was sheriff of Lincoln in 4th Henry II. (1158): *Pipe Rolls*, 138.

[4] This entry is in the different ink.

[5] Robert de Chesney, bishop, 1148-1166. See *supra*, 36, n. 2.

APPENDIX C.

Catalogue of Books, 12th Century, Lincoln Cathedral.

Liber sanctæ Mariæ Lincolniensis.

Nicholaus[1] canonicus et archidiaconus, dedit hanc bibliothecam in duobus[2] voluminibus sanctæ Mariæ Lincolniensi.

Books taken in charge by Hamo the chancellor, c. 1150.

Quando Hamoni[3] cancellario cancellaria data fuit, et librorum cura commissa, hos in armario invenit libros, et sub custodia sua recepit. Scilicet,

Bibliothecam in duobus voluminibus.
Tripartitum Psalterium.
Augustinum super Johannem.
Augustinum de Verbis Domini.

[1] This, almost certainly, was Nicholas first archdeacon of Huntingdon, appointed by Remigius ; who, dying about 1109, was succeeded by Henry of Huntingdon (*Ang. Sac.* ii. 696, l. 2). But there is said to have been another archdeacon Nicholas of Huntingdon, whose name occurs in 1155 and 1184 (Hardy's *Le Neve*), who possibly may have been the donor of this Bible. The only other archdeacon Nicholas, whose time would make him the possible donor, was the fourth archdeacon of Bedford (*Ang. Sac.* ii. 696, l. 16) ; but he is out of the question, as his death is recorded above in the Obituary on March 31, and that of the donor of the Bible on March 13 (*supra*, 155, 156).

[2] The first vol. only is now at Lincoln.

[3] Hamo was chancellor 1150 (?)–1182. See *supra*, 160, n. 1.

Augustinum de Civitate Dei.
Gregorium super Ezechielem.
Dialogum Gregorii.
Gregorium xl^{ta}. Homeliarum.
Duo Gregorios de Pastorali Cura; cum uno quorum continetur in eodem volumine Augustinus de Caritate.
Vitas Patrum.
Speculum de Moralibus excerptum.
Bedam xlix. Homeliarum.
Ambrosium de Mysteriis; cum Augustino contra Pelagianos, et epistolis Phulberti Carnotensis episcopi.
Decreta Yvonis Carnotensis episcopi.
Canones Romanorum Pontificum.
Statuta Romanorum Pontificum.
Decreta Pontificum.
[Librum [1] Proverbiorum Græcorum inutilem.]
Meditationes Anselmi Cantuariensis archiepiscopi.
Sex Passionarios. Quorum unum reddiderat magister Reginaldus, pro libro qui est de Vita Johannis Elemosinarii et sanctæ Fidis, quem perdiderat; qui incipit ab Octobri.
[Librum [1] de Vita beati Martini et sancti Nicholai; cui adjunctus est de novo Passionarius, qui incipit a beato Benedicto usque ad festum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli.]
Omeliarium diversorum tractatorum.
Librum Prognosticon.
Virgilium.
Vĕgentium de Re Militari, cum Eutropio de Rebus Romanis, in uno coopertorio; quod magister Gerardus canonicus reddidit de novo pro Boetio de Consolatione, quem perdiderat.
Epistolas Ieronimi.
Augustinum super primam quinquagenam Psalterii.
Regulam beati Benedicti.

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[1] These entries have a line of erasure drawn through them.

Augustinum super Genesim ad literam.
Moralia Job, in tribus voluminibus.
Ysidorum Ethimologiarum.
Bedam super Lucam.
Priscianum magnum.
Lamentationes.
Mappa Mundi.
Librum Epistolarum et Evangeliorum simul vetustissimum.
Libellum de Fundatione ecclesiæ Lincolniensis.
Volumen in se continens omnes cartas ecclesiæ, qui sic incipit, *W. gra. Dei rex Angl'.*[1]

After additions.

[Ambrosium[2] de Officiis.
Speculum Augustini.
Gemma Animæ.]

Service books in custody of the treasurer.

Reliqui vero qui tunc erant in ecclesia remanserunt sub custodia thesaurarii Jordani,[3] et postea sub custodia Martini[4] thesaurarii; videlicet, ii. Omeliarii; viii. Missales; vi. Collectarii; iii. Benedictionarii; Breviarium integrum, et aliud dimidium hiemale; ii. Libri Epistolares; Regula Canonicorum, cum Martrilogio qui cotidie legitur in capitulo; ii. Psalteria.

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[1] The *Registrum Antiquissimum*, or *Remigii Chronicon*, of the dean and chapter of Lincoln, begins with these words, and is probably the volume here mentioned. The earlier part of it,—there are many after additions,—is in a hand of the latter half of the 12th century, and may well have been penned before this Catalogue was drawn up by the chancellor Hamo. But there was an earlier Chartulary, of which two leaves are preserved, now inserted in the *Reg. Antiquiss.* between f. 8 and f. 9, which very possibly may have begun with the same charter, and therefore the same words.

[2] These three entries are an after addition, in a space left blank in the original Catalogue.

[3] Jordan must have been treasurer somewhere between 1150 and 1160. See *supra*, 158, n. 4.

[4] Martin is said to occur as treasurer in 1160 and 1164: Hardy's *Le Neve.* He was nephew of bishop Robert de Chesney: *infra*, 169, l. 15.

Other after additions.

De dono[1] Samsonis canonici, Historia magistri Petri Manducatoris.

De dono domini Geroldi[2] archidiaconi Wall', Topographia Hibernica, et Vitam sancti Remigii, et Gemmam Sacerdot'.

Summulam super Decreta.

Librum Anselmi Cantuariensis qui sic intitulatur, Cur Deus Homo?

Additions in time of chancellor Hamo; from bishop Alexander.

Postquam vero cancellaria data fuit magistro Hamoni, superadditi sunt hii libri in armario ecclesiæ.

De dono Alexandri episcopi;

Genesis, non integer, glosatus.

Johannes glosatus.

Lucas glosatus.

Epistolæ Canonicæ.

Apocalipsis.

Job glosatus.

Cantica Canticorum, Ecclesiastes, et Parabolæ Salomonis, simul omnes tres in uno volumine.

Hos reddidit ecclesiæ Willelmus[3] archidiaconus Norhamtoniæ, nepos ejus.

After additions by St. Hugh.

De dono[4] Hugonis Lincolniensis episcopi;

Duo magna volumina Sermonum catholicorum doctorum per totum annum.

Et Libellum de Vita Patrum, cum rubeo coopertorio.

Et Psalterium cum magna glosatura, quod G. præcentor habet.

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[1] These entries are an after addition, in the bottom margin of the first column of the original Catalogue.

[2] Gerold, archdeacon of Wales, is Giraldus Cambrensis. The *Gemma Sacerdot'*, one of the books which he presents, is the work which he generally calls *Gemma Ecclesiastica*. In one place, however, he calls it *Gemma Sacerdotalis* (vol. i. 119). No doubt, with the *Vita Remigii*, it was written by Giraldus during his stay at Lincoln, 1196–1199. In December 1199, he presented a copy of it to pope Innocent III. (*Ibid.*).

[3] See *supra*, 154, n. 4.

[4] These books, given by Hugh of Burgundy (bishop 1186–1200), are an after entry in the margin of the upper part of the second column of the original Catalogue. In a hand not later than the beginning of the 13th century.

Et præterea Omeliarius, in corio cervino; qui sic incipit, *Erunt signa.*

Et Martilogium, cum textu quatuor Evangeliorum, quod cantor habet.

Additions in time of Hamo, from bishop Chesney.

De dono Roberti secundi,[1] bonæ memoriæ, episcopi; Registrum Greg'.

Josephus.

Psalterium juxta glosaturam Gilleberti, sine textu.

Sententiæ magistri Petri Lumbardi.

Duo volumina Sermonum. Quorum unum sic incipit, *Vidit Jhesus hominem,*[2] et cetera; et aliud sic, *Homo quidam peregre.*

Augustinus super Quinquagenam tertiam.

[Breviarium [3] suum, in duobus voluminibus partitum; quod Martinus thesaurarius, nepos ejus, adhuc tenet.]

Ecclesiastica Hystoria Eusebii.

Unum Collectarium valde bonum, ad opus magni altaris. Quod est in custodia thesaurarii, cum aliis Collectariis.

Later additions.

Liber[4] Aristotelis; ex dono . . . . Guarini de Hibaldestow, pro vi. (sol.'?).

Liber de Sermonibus Augustini; (qui sic incipit), *Propitia divinitate.*

Beda[5] super Cantica Canticorum; (qui sic incipit), *Erant ibi.*

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[1] Robert de Chesney, bishop 1148–1166.

[2] This seems to be the MS. vol. of sermons, C. 3, 6, still in the cathedral library. At least this volume so begins, and is in a 12th century hand.

[3] This entry has a line of erasure drawn through it. It would seem as if the Breviary never found its way into the library, the treasurer Martin still retaining it.

[4] These entries are in the margin of the second column, alongside the above list of books given by Robert de Chesney. They are in a later hand: they are frayed and illegible at the edge of the leaf. I have ventured to restore, within brackets, some of the lost words, about which there seems no doubt.

[5] This is now B. 2, 7 of the library. In this volume Bede on the Song of Solomon begins on the second page of fol. 2. Before which, f. 1–f. 2 b, is a homily on the six water-pots at the marriage in Cana, which begins with "Erant ibi."

Origines[1] super Càntica Canticorum; qui sic (incipit), *Epitalamium.*

Ieronimus contra Pelagianos et Ruffinum; qui (sic incipit), *Non audacter.*

Duodecim[2] Omeliæ Gregorii super Ezechielem; (quæ sic) incip', *Dilectissimo.*

Septem volumina magistri Radulphi Nigri.

Octavum est op̄ Abbatem de Toren . . . .

Other additions in Hamo's time.

De dono Hugonis[3] archidiaconi Leecestriæ; Decreta Graciani, et Egesippus.

De dono Jordani thesaurarii; Hamo super epistolas Pauli.

De dono magistri Reginaldi; Mathæus glosatus.

De dono Rogeri[4] præcentoris; Liber Scintillarum, cum Solino de Mirabilibus Mundi, in uno volumine.

De dono Hamonis cancellarii;

Psalterium juxta glosaturam Gilleberti Porrete,[5] simul cum textu, et cum rubea coopertura.

Sermones[6] in ecclesia per totum annum legendi.

Et Martilogium novum, continens Regulam sancti Augustini, cum expositione ejusdem Regulæ, cum aliis pluribus scriptis.

De dono magistri Radulfi medici;[7] Liber Regum glosatus; Epistolæ Pauli glosatæ.

De dono David[8] archidiaconi; Psalterium tripartitum, juxta glosaturam magistri Petri.

De dono magistri Petri de Melida;[9]

Ysaias glosatus, in uno volumine.

Paralippomenon, Esdras, Neemias, in uno volumine.

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[1] This is probably C. 4, 9 of the library.

[2] Probably A. 3, 16 of the library.

[3] Hugh occurs as archdeacon of Leicester in 1151: Hardy's *Le Neve.*

[4] A Roger held the office of precentor about 1148: Hardy's *Le Neve.*

[5] Gilbertus Porretanus, bishop of Poitiers, 1141–1154.

[6] See the Obituary *supra*, June 6.

[7] Radulphus medicus is a witness to the charter of Robert de Chesney, given by John de Schalby (Appendix E. *infra*) under Robert Bloet.

[8] See *supra*, 154, n. 2.

[9] See the Obituary *supra*, Oct. 3.

Tobias, Judith, Hester, Liber Sapientiæ, Ecclesiasticum, in uno volumine.

Qui vero de cantu sunt, sub custodia sunt præcentoris; sicut Antiphonaria, Gradalia, Troparia, et omnes libri de cantu.

Books "de cantu" in custody of precentor.

Later additions.

De dono[1] magistri Roberti Blund; Psalterium glosatum, et Epistolæ Pauli glosatæ.
De dono Hugonis[2] canonici; Liber Pœnitentiæ.
De dono Ricardi[3] præcentoris; xii. Prophetæ glosati.
De dono[4] Galteri Grossi; Sententiæ Lumbardi.
De dono Alexandri archidiaconi; Epistolæ Pauli glosatæ.

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[1] These entries are an after addition, in the bottom margin of the second column.

[2] See the Obituary *supra*, June 17.

[3] Richard occurs as precentor in 1163 (*Reg. Antiquiss.*, f. 155). In Hardy's *Le Neve* he is called Richard d'Aumery, and is said to have been precentor in 1156 and 1173.

[4] The two last entries are in a different, and later hand than that of the others. There was an Alexander, archdeacon of Bedford in 1217.

APPENDIX D.

THE LEGENDA OF ST. HUGH, AS TO BE READ, OR PARTLY, ON THE DAY OF HIS OBIT.

Early history of Hugh.

Sanctæ recordationis[1] Hugo, quondam Lincolniensis episcopus, de remotis finibus imperialis Burgundiæ non procul ab Alpibus extitit oriundus; nobilitate generis satis clarus, et originem ducens a parentibus ordinis militaris.[2] Qui ab annis teneris studio literarum addictus, cum decennium[3] attigisset, monasterio traditus est disciplinis regularibus imbuendus. Factus autem canonicus regularis, adeo tam in scientia quam in vita profecit, quod cum sedecim esset annorum[4] ad regimen cujusdam cellæ vocatus, ibi suscepit officium prioratus. Domus vero ipsius regimini deputata tempore administrationis ipsius[5] tam in temporalibus quam in spiritualibus floruit eleganter. Domare tamen volens amplius carnem suam, et ejus motus lubricos fortius cohibere, elapso tempore modico, ad ordinem Cartusiensem, Domino disponente, transivit. Ibi, Domino misericorditer ejus opera dirigente, claruit excellenter titulis merito-

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[1] *recordationis*] So T., B.: L. has, by mistake, "reconciliacionis." In H. the commencement is erased.
This first section *Sanctæ . . . . vocatur*, forms the first Lection in T.

[2] *ordinis militaris*] So also H. B.: militaribus, T.

[3] *decennium*] See *supra*, 89, n. 1.

[4] *sedecim esset annorum*] So also H. T. B. Wendover has "post "circulum sedecim annorum," which perhaps gives the true date of Hugh's appointment to the cell. See *supra* (90, n. 2), and *Mag. Vit.* (19, n. 3).

[5] *ipsius*] So also H.; ejus, T.

rum et incremento virtutum. Et quia cunctis, præsertim extraneis,[1] se benignum et affabilem exhibebat, religionis gravitate servata, cum tempus modicum[2] exfluxisset, domus curator est factus; quoniam apud eos susceptor hospitum et negotiorum domus procurator sic vocatur.

His coming into England.

Interea[3] rex Angliæ illustris Henricus domum quandam Cartusiensis ordinis construxit in Anglia, cujus promotionem ardenter optabat. Unde vix precibus multiplicatis optinuit, ut ad regimen domus illius curator Cartusiæ vocaretur. Qui, cum officium illud fuisset adeptus, sanctitatem priorem de die in diem novis studuit meritis ampliare. Unde regis gratiam et favorem,[4] qui frequenter ejus colloquio[5] fruebatur, sanctæ conversationis merito non mediocriter optinebat.

Capitulum secundum.

He is made bishop of Lincoln.

Quoniam igitur idem rex[6] Lincolniensem ecclesiam per multos annos in manu sua tenuerat, pastoris solatio destitutam, redimere cupiens, sicut creditur, illud malum,[7] sicut honeste potuit, procuravit ut per electionem canonicam vir supradictus ad regimen illius ecclesiæ vocaretur. Quo facto, cum ei fuisset[8] electio nunciata, respondit quod pontificalis officii non susciperet dignitatem, nisi prioris[9] Cartusiæ prævenisset assensus. Qui cum fuisset optentus, non sine gravi labore sollempnium nunciorum, et nunciatus[10] ei fuisset, dixit

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[1] *extraneis*] This is in H. T. It is omitted, by mistake, in L.

[2] *modicum*] This again is in H. T., but omitted in L. B. has "parvo "post tempore."

[3] With this the second Lection of T. begins. This Lection includes this last section of Cap. I., all Cap. II., the first few lines of Cap. III., and then ends imperfectly.

[4] *et favorem*] So also T.: not in H. W.

[5] *colloquio*] So also H. W.; alloquio, T.

[6] *rex*] This is in H. T. B., but is omitted by L.

[7] *malum*] So also H.; not in T.

[8] *fuisset*] H. T. W.; esset, L.

[9] *prioris*] So L.; prius, H. T.

[10] *nunciatus*] H. T.; nunciatum, L.

quod ad regimen ecclesiæ Lyncolniensis non accederet, nisi prius ei de canonicorum unanimi [1] et libera voluntate constaret. Decanus igitur Lyncolniæ, cum majoribus capituli sui, accessit ad locum cui prædictus vir præerat. Qui, inter prima colloquia, sic eorum sibi gratiam comparavit, quod eum patrem et pastorem habere sinceræ devotionis affectu ferventer [2] optabant. Ut autem ei certius innotesceret unanimis voluntas eorum, ibi eum iterum elegerunt, et tunc primo consensit. Cum itaque consecrationis munus fuisset adeptus, prima nocte qua in episcopatu suo dormiens quievit,[3] post matutinas et devotas orationes, in sompnis audivit vocem dicentem sibi, "Egressus es in salutem "populi tui, in salutem cum Christo tuo." Ecclesiam autem suam ita meritorum titulis illustravit, ita plebem sibi commissam verbis informare studuit et exemplis, quod episcopi nomen sibi recte competere,[4] bonorum operum testimonio, patenter et veraciter ostendebat. Nec, juxta verbum propheticum, "Syon in "sanguinibus edificare" studuit; sed ex vivis lapidibus habitaculum ecclesiæ construebat, electas in ecclesia sua collocando personas; et, juxta verbum Scripturæ, "Cum lateres cecidissent quadris edificabat lapidibus, "cedrosque plantabat corruentibus sicomoris." Potestatis autem secularis in ecclesiam sævientis impetus adeo constanter elidere consuevit, ut et rerum et corporis sui periculum contempnere videretur. Adeo autem potestati (seculari) [5] resistendo profecit, quod ecclesiam suam a servitute gravissima liberavit,[6] et jura plurima amissa recuperavit.

Is a bishop indeed.

Mic. iii. 10.

Isa. ix. 10.

His resistance of the secular power.

[1] *unanimi*] So also T.; unanimi assensu, H.

[2] *ferventer*] So H.; frequenter, L. T.

[3] *quievit*] H. T. B.; acquievit, L.

[4] *competere*] H. T. B. W.; compere, L.

[5] *seculari*] This is in H.; but not in L. T.

[6] *liberavit*] H. T. W.; liberaret, L.

Capitulum tertium.[1]

Aliud etiam duximus adnectendum, quod virorum fide dignorum nobis relatio patefecit.[2] Vir iste, dum viveret, domos leprosorum per quas transitum faciebat ingredi consuevit, et cum, eo jubente, viri fuissent a feminis separati, omnes viros[3] leprosos quantumcunque deformes osculari[4] solebat. Videns autem hanc humilitatem egregiam bonæ memoriæ Willelmus quondam Lyncolniensis ecclesiæ cancellarius, vir utique[5] valde litteratus et bonus, voluit experiri utrum propter excellentiam hujus operis elatio tangeret animum viri justi, dixitque ei; "Martinus leprosum osculando sana- "vit; vos leprosos quos osculamini non sanatis." Episcopus autem in continenti respondit, "Osculum Mar- "tini carnem leprosi sanavit, osculum vero leprosi "animam meam sanat."

His visits to leper-houses, and kissing of the male lepers.

The chancellor William's remark, and Hugh's answer.

Nec est,[6] ut credimus, sub silentio[7] transcurrendum, quam excellenter in quodam articulo, juxta præcedentis meriti qualitatem, eum Dominus, ut creditur, honoravit in terris. Solebat enim pontifex ille, dum viveret, sepeliendis mortuis tam diligens humanitatis officium exhibere, quod nullum mortuum præteriret cujus sepulturæ ministerium sibi competens impendere non curaret. Dominus autem, qui retributione condigna novit justorum merita compensare, tam honorabilem ei tribuit sepulturam, ut honorem illum retribuisse supra-

His diligence in burying the dead.

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[1] Henceforward the order is different from that of H. This first part of the third chapter of L. forms the sixth section of H.

[2] *patefecit*] L. T.; exequi patefecit, H.

[3] *viros*] With this word T. ends abruptly, at bottom of f. 209 b. Folio 210 commences with "est, "mirabile dictu, tam caro, &c," as towards the end of Cap. XI. *infra*, 182. T. must have lost here a couple of leaves.

[4] *osculari*] To this W. adds "et "largas elemosinas conferre."

[5] *utique*] H.; itaque, L.

[6] This, about Hugh's burying the dead, and about his own burial, is part of the fifth section of H.

[7] *silentio*] H.; silentia, L.

Kings, bishops, &c. took part in his own funeral.

dicto merito videatur. Ea namque die qua corpus ipsius, sepulturæ tradendum, ad Lincolniensem[1] est delatum ecclesiam, rex Angliæ et rex Scotiæ, cum tribus archiepiscopis et multis episcopis, et abbatibus multis tam ordinis Cisterciensis quam alterius, comitibus quoque et baronibus, apud Lyncolniam convenerunt. Qui in primo civitatis ingressu corpori occurrerunt, illud in humeris suis ad ecclesiam deferentes. Exequiis autem pontificum ministerio celebratis, mane venerabile corpus honorifice tradiderunt sepulturæ. Illud autem officium tam diligenter exequi curaverunt, ut videretur divinitus procuratum, quod propter illud specialiter convenirent.

So far as to his life.

Hæc pauca, de multis collecta, universitati fidelium de vita sancti prædicti viri curavimus intimare.

De Miraculis ejusdem.

Capitulum quartum.

His miracles; 1st, in his lifetime.

Dominus etiam noster Jhesus Christus, qui in sanctis suis semper et ubique gloriosus est, vitam sanctam famuli sui moresque commendabiles sibi placere demonstrans, sanctum suum miraculis, dum etiam viveret, ita declaravit, ut variis diversorum languoribus, per sancti viri merita, medicinam præstaret et salutem.

Cure of a child at Alconbury, with a piece of iron stuck in its throat.

Accidit autem[2] in vita sancti viri, quod cum circa gregis sui curam vigilans parochiam suam perageret, devenit ad quandam villam Alkemundebyri nomine, ubi pater et mater cujusdam pueri, puerum ipsum ex-

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[1] *Lincolniensem*] H.; Lincolniensis, L.

[2] This miracle at Alconbury, Huntingdonshire, and the measures taken by the papal commissioners to ascertain the certain truth, are largely related in sections 11, 12, and 13 of H. In this case, if not in others, H. no doubt gives us the full report of the commissioners, as transmitted to Rome. It has seemed to me well worth while to add this portion of H. at the end of the present Appendix, *infra*, 190.

animem deferentes, lacrimabiliter ejus auxilium postulabant. Requisiti vero quid quærerent, respondens mater pueri, solita materna pietate de dolore filii magis anxia, dixit; "Parvulus iste puer noster partem cujus-"dam laminæ ferreæ, lucentem, gracilem, et acutam, "habentem in longitudine et in latitudine plusquam "unum pollicem, manu recepit, et more puerorum ad "os tulit; quæ introlapsa gutturi firmiter adhæsit. "Cumque de casu miserabili inconsolabiliter dolerem, "videns filium quem genueram de vita periclitari, "patruus ejusdem pueri consolari me nisus est, dicens; "'Non morietur filius tuus; in sompnis enim mihi "'revelatum est, quod in brevi quidam sanctus vir "'per villam istam est transiturus, qui ipsum est "'curaturus.' Misit te ergo Dominus huc, pater sancte, "ut filium nostrum in ultimo vitæ articulo positum, "jam vix palpitantem, nobis vivum restituas." Quem recipiens episcopus, tangensque guttur, benedixit, insufflavit, et crucis signaculo signavit, ac dimisit. Cumque recessissent ab episcopo, ferrum sanguinolentum a gutture et ore pueri exsiliit, et sanatus est puer ex illa hora.

Capitulum quintum.

Alio quoque tempore accidit[1] quod prædicto episcopo, per villam de Cesterhunt transitum facienti, supplicaverunt parentes cujusdam furiosi, qui in prædicta villa circiter per tres septimanas sine vinculis detineri non potuit, ut eum visitare et ei benedicere dignaretur. Quo audito, vir sanctus de equo desiliens ad furiosum accessit. Cujus caput ligatum fuit ad postem; manus vero et pedes ad paxillos, tam a dex-

Cure of a madman at Cheshunt.

[1] This miracle at Cheshunt, again, and the commissioners' labours for the truth, are in like manner related largely in sections 7 and 8 of II. This portion also of II. I add to this Appendix, *infra* 188.

By use of holy water, and the Gospel of St. John.

tris quam a sinistris. Episcopus vero, aqua benedicta ibidem ab eo confecta, infirmum, linguam emittentem quasi ipsum deridentem, aspersit; et evangelium, scilicet "In principio erat Verbum," super eum legit,[1] benedictionem dedit, et recessit. Confestim cœpit ægrotus dormitare: ipso die evigilans, alienatione mentis penitus evacuata, per Dei gratiam plenæ restitutus sanitati. Qui postea per multos vixit annos.

Capitulum sextum.

Cure of a cripple, from using the hod which had been often used by bishop Hugh, in bearing stones and mortar for the fabric of the cathedral.

Sub silentio[2] etiam prætereundum non est, quod cum pius pontifex in die Parasceves Lyncolniæ esset, et ad fabricam matricis ecclesiæ, quam nobiliter a fundamentis extruxerat, lapides et cementum in humeris ferret in quodam cophino, sicut pluries consueverat, debilis quidam, ex utraque parte claudus, duobus baculis suffultus, tantam viri sancti humilitatem considerans et admirans, totis visceribus desiderare cœpit eundem cophinum deferre et collo suo applicare, sperans quod per merita tantæ benignitatis ipsius pontificis sanitatem foret recepturus. Tandem a magistro operis optinuit eundem cophinum sibi præstari; in quo lapides et cementa, cum duobus innisus baculis, deferre cœpit. Elapsis vero aliquot diebus, unum dimisit baculum, deinde reliquum; et post modicum tempus, sanus et erectus, cophinum eundem portabat ad opus fabricæ consuetum, nullo adjutus baculo adminiculo. Qui multo tempore sanus postmodum vixit; et cophinum suum adeo dilexit, ut a se separari nullatenus sustineret.

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[1] *super eum legit*] So B; super legeret, L,

[2] This sixth chapter of L. forms the ninth section of H.; where it is added that the cripple had been a dependent upon the bounty of the canons; and that the witnesses to the miracle, who appeared before the papal commissioners, were a priest named John, and three other persons.

Capitulum septimum.

Circa illud tempus accidit[1] in civitate Lyncolniæ, quod civis quidam in tantam incidit amentiam, quod ad ipsius custodiam octo viri fuerunt deputati. Qui, in vinculis detentus, tanto vexabatur furore, quod uxorem suam et liberos proprios dentibus laniare minabatur. Tandem, de consilio cujusdam boni viri consanguinei sui, in quadam biga ligatus, ductus est ad ecclesiam cathedralem, ubi sanctus episcopus morabatur; ea habita consideratione, ut per merita beati viri a prædicta dementia liberari mereretur. Quem cum vidisset episcopus ad se adductum, statim eum aqua benedicta aspersit; et spiritum malignum adjuravit, ut ab eo exiret, ipsumque ulterius non vexaret. Æger vero in continenti in terram cecidit, morienti similis; super quem vir Deo plenus aquam benedictam effudit in quantitate magna. Statimque surrexit qui tam miserabiliter prius ægrotavit; et manus ligatas ad cœlum extendens, in hæc verba prorupit,—"Deus, "gratias tibi ago de sanitate mea; et tibi, beate epi-"scope," ad ipsum manus ligatas extendens. Qui, solutis vinculis, sanus rediit, ulterius a dæmonio non vexatus.

Cure of a madman at Lincoln.

By holy water, and adjuration of the evil spirit.

Capitulum octavum.

Quædam etiam matrona[2] Lyncolniensis duos filios habuit: quorum alter, dum adhuc puer esset, in dextro

Cure of a bad tumour in a boy;

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[1] This chapter forms the 10th section of H.; which tells us that "Rogerus filius Guarini," a kinsman of the madman (the same "consanguineus" who is mentioned above as advising his being taken to the cathedral to St. Hugh), was the only person who bore witness to this miracle before the commissioners. Many other persons, he said, witnessed the miracle, who had since died.

[2] This chapter forms the 14th section of H.; where it is added that the matron's name was Lauretta, and that she herself testified before the commissioners to the cures of her two boys.

by touch and blessing of Hugh.

latere longo tempore tumorem habuit grandem. De cujus salute mater desperans sanctum episcopum adiit, et ut ei benediceret petiit. Ille vero super locum morbi manus posuit, benedixit, et dimisit. Deinceps vero ita sedatus est tumor, ut ab illo tempore nec mater illum viderit, nec puerum molestaverit. Contigit alio tempore, ut alius ejusdem matronæ filius patiens ictericiam periclitaretur. Illa, prioris memor refugii, etiam hunc sancto episcopo præsentavit benedicendum. Acceptaque benedictione, infra triduum pristinæ sanitati est integre restitutus.

And of jaundice in another boy.

Capitulum nonum.[1]

His illness at the Old Temple in London, after his return from the Great Chartreuse.

Prætereunda vero non credimus expedire ea, quæ Dominus per eum operari dignatus est, in obitu, et post obitum suum gloriosum, usque ad prædictam ejus magnificam sepulturam. Vir itaque sanctus, completo in obsequio Dei anno pontificatus sui quartodecimo, a Cartusia, principali scilicet ejusdem ordinis domo, visitatis[2] ex longo desiderio priore et fratribus ejusdem domus, in Anglia rediens in urbe Londoniarum[3] apud Vetus Templum in domo sua graviter cœpit infirmari. Sed cum in lecto ægritudinis,[4] morbo de die in diem aggravescente, jam aliquamdiu accubuisset, nec cilicium quo jugiter utebatur ad horam per alicujus consilium deponere voluisset, sed usque ad mortem[5] magis ordinis

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[1] This chapter is not in H. It agrees very closely with the account of Hugh's illness and death, as in *Vit. S. Hug.* of Giraldus (p. 111, *supra*). It is condensed in Wendover (iii. 160, Coxe).

[2] *visitatis*] So W.; L. has visitata.

[3] *Londoniarum*] So B.; Londinensi, W.; Lincolniæ, L.

[4] *in lecto ægritudinis, &c.*] There is so close a verbal agreement here with the *Vit. S. Hug.* (111, l. 10, *supra*), that it would seem the writer of this Legend, when he penned this chapter, must have had Giraldus's Life of St. Hugh before him. It is more likely, however, that both writers derived their materials from a common source at Lincoln.

[5] *usque ad mortem, &c.*] Here, again, compare the *Vit. S. Hug.* (111, l. 18, *supra*).

Cartusiensis austeritatem atque rigorem observare decrevisset, tandem, vocante Domino, feliciter ab hac vita migravit ad Dominum: prænunciato tamen diu ante ab ipso, clericis et fratribus suis, quasi spiritu vaticinali, apud Lyncolniam adventu suo circa festum sancti Edmundi; quando occursurus fuit, ut dicebat, regi Angliæ et fratribus suis coepiscopis ibidem affuturis. Quod et factum est. Nam et reges, et archiepiscopi, et episcopi, ac diversorum ordinum et dignitatum viri, eodem tempore corpori suo occurrerunt, et, ut prædictum est, in humeris suis detulerunt.

His death. His prophecy as to meeting the king, and his brethren the bishops, at Lincoln.

Capitulum decimum.

Mirabile tunc quoque accidit,[1] cum corpus suum deferretur: videlicet, quod cum cerei in exitu civitatis Londoniensis ante corpus ipsius fuissent accensi, per quatuor dietas jugiter arserunt, ita quod non erat aliqua hora in qua non esset lux in aliquo cereorum, licet tempus ex aeris intemperie in vento et pluvia multoties esset turbulentum. Unde dubium non est quin Dominus animæ ipsius lucem præparavit perpetuam, qui pro corporis veneratione non sustinuit extingui temporalem.

Miracle of the torches before his corpse, on the way to Lincoln.

Capitulum undecimum.

Aliud quoque[2] ante sepulturam ipsius accidit valde miraculosum, et relatione dignissimum: videlicet, quod

Cure of a knight's cancerous

[1] This miracle forms section 15 of H.; which adds that the persons who testified to it, before the papal commissioners, were the abbot of Eynsham and a certain layman. This abbot of Eynsham was Adam, the author of the *Magna Vita S. Hugonis*, which see, p. 365, and Preface xli.

[2] This miracle is related more briefly in section 16 of H.; which however adds, that the witnesses to it before the commissioners were Roger the dean of Lincoln and a brother of the knight. It is related more at large by Giraldus, in the Life, *supra* (p. 117); which see, and the notes.

arm, by touch of Hugh's body, in Lincoln cathedral.

cum corpus sancti viri in ecclesia Lyncolniensi adhuc jaceret humandum, miles quidam, canonicis ecclesiæ et aliis comprovincialibus notissimus, cujus brachium dextrum corroserat ita cancer quod jam os apparebat, idem brachium dextrum super corpus episcopi posuit; et faciem ejus, quæ, ut mos est regibus et episcopis defunctis in feretro jacentibus, discooperta jacuit, curationis causa non sine lacrimis tangebat; statimque a Domino, meritis sancti viri, restituta est,[1] mirabile dictu, tam caro quam cutis brachii sui. Unde idem miles gaudens, et Deo et sancto pontifici gratias agens, se sanum decano ejusdem ecclesiæ,[2] commendabilis vitæ et conversationis viro, aliisque viris fide dignis sæpius præsentavit, ostendens locum pristinæ debilitatis plenum et integerrime sanatum.[3]

Capitulum duodecimum.

Miracles after his burial.

Post prædicta miracula[4] ea dignum duximus adjicere[5] miracula, quibus divina bonitas, tanquam in tenebris lucernam accendens, post sepulturam gloriosam sanctum suum clarificari voluit et magnificari.

Recovery of a boy, apparently dead.

Puer quidam[6] parvulus de partibus Lyncolniæ, per quindecim dies ægrotans, invalescente morbo devenit ad mortis periculum; ita ut in eo nullum vitæ signum, nec ipse etiam halitus[7] remaneret; sed, frigescentibus

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[1] *est, &c.*] Here T. comes in again, at the top of f. 210; this last part of Cap. 11 forming the conclusion of its sixth Lection. See *supra*, 175, n. 3.

[2] *ecclesiæ*] This not in L.: in T. and W.; in the latter, however, without "ejusdem."

[3] Here T.'s sixth Lection ends. Cap. 17 *infra* forms its seventh Lection; and its eighth Lection includes Caps. 12–16 of this Legend, as above.

[4] *miracula*] Not in T.

[5] *adjicere*] T.; adiscere, L.

[6] This miracle forms section 17 of H.; where we are further told that "Johannes Carpentarius" and his wife, the parents of the child, and two other women, bore witness before the commissioners; and that the boy himself was also produced before them.

[7] *ipse etiam halitus*] So L.; etiam ipse anhelitus, H.; in ipso etiam halitus, T.

membris, corpus ita diriguit ac si per quindecim dies mortuus extitisset. Quo viso, mulier quædam accessit, et oculos clausit, et membra mortuorum more disposuit. Cumque sub hoc schemate jacuisset a tempore gallicantus usque ad diluculum, mater, cujus fides inter lacrimas non fuerat extincta cum filio, cum multa fiducia dixit; "Etiam si humatus esset filius meus, "posset eum mihi Dominus restituere per merita "sancti Hugonis." Acceptoque filo faciendis candelis idoneo, cœpit puerum mensurare. Crescente vero die, fecerunt pro anima pueri orationes et elemosinas; et miserunt ad sacerdotem vocandum ad funus. Porro mater sedula, circa horam diei primam, deprehendit in puero motum palpebrarum, flatumque restitutum; magnificans Deum, et sanctum episcopum, cujus hoc meritis ascribebat. Procedente vero tempore duxerunt istum puerum sanum parentes ejus ad tumbam episcopi, et hæc Dei magnalia narraverunt.[1]

The measuring fillet.

Capitulum tertiumdecimum.

Adolescens quidam,[2] nomine Johannes, adeo paralisi percussus erat ab umbilico inferius, quod nullum usum habuit crurum, pedum, seu tibiarum: et in hac languescens ægritudine, per quatuor annos et dimidium, in hospitali Lyncolniensi[3] detentus est. Postmodum in atrio matricis ecclesiæ se recepit, ibidem diu canonicorum elemosinis sustentatus, semper existens immotus nisi ab aliquo vel aliquibus de loco ad locum transferretur. Hic cum multos ad tumbam sancti Hugonis

Cure of a paralytic man.

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[1] So far Wendover follows this Legend. He has nothing of what is comprised in the remaining chapters.

[2] This miracle is not in H.; it once was, no doubt, in the lost part of it. It is in T. (Lect. VIII.). It is also, more fully, in the Life by Giraldus (143, *supra*), with many close coincidences of expression, proving no doubt a common origin.

[3] There is "lecto" before *detentus*, in T. Giraldus's Life has, "in "hospitali Lincolniensi lecto jacu- "erat."

curatos audiret, et per ipsum lætos redire videret, vigilia Assumptionis beatæ Virginis se ad tumbam memoratam portari fecit. Ubi cum tota nocte pia fudisset precamina, cum mane[1] obdormisset, visum ei fuit in sompnis quod episcopus quidam, vultu et statura venustus, mitratus, episcopalibus indutus,[2] præcepit ei surgere. Qui ad hanc vocem evigilans, cruribus et tibiis extensis, sese in stationem erexit; sed nutans in primis et titubans protinus in terram corruit. Iterum per se surgens, firmiter stare cœpit. Qui usque hodie[3] sanus existens, in atrio ecclesiæ habitat, et per canonicorum hospitia singulis fere diebus graditur propter victus necessaria.

Capitulum quartumdecimum.

Cure of a paralytic woman.

Mulier etiam quædam,[4] Alicia nomine, paralitica ab umbilico inferius, ita quod sese[5] movere non poterat nisi adjutorio alieno, ante fores ecclesiæ longo tempore discumbere consueverat. Cujus impotentiam probare volens quidam serviens ecclesiæ, in plantam pedis ejus stimulum ferreum usque ad os infixit; nec tamen illud sensit ægrotans. Qua postea ad tumbam sancti viri delata, cum in oratione prostrata lacrimisque perfusa aliquamdiu perstitisset, auditus est a circumstantibus ossium mulieris illius fragor non modicus, tanquam violentiam pateretur. Et sic per merita sancti sui[6] Dominus eam plene curavit.

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[1] *cum mane*] So L.; et mane parumper, T.; cum mane parumper, B. Giraldus has, "mane vero facto, "cum parumper."

[2] *indutus*] So L.; competenter indutus, T. B. and Giraldus.

[3] *usque hodie*] So L.; multo tempore, T.; multo post tempore, B.; and with "habitabat" after, instead of *habitat*.

[4] This miracle, again, is not in H.; but is in T. (Lect. VIII.).

[5] *sese*] After this T. has, "de loco "in locum;" and B. "de loco" only.

[6] *sancti sui*] So L.; sancti viri sui Hugonis, T.; sancti viri, B.

Capitulum quintumdecimum.

Cure of another paralytic woman.

Inetta, quædam mulier,[1] cum quodam die Sabbati post nonam lavaret pannos parvi[2] sui, et eos in die Dominica sequenti exponeret ad exsiccandum,[3] percussa est paralysi in sinistra manu; ita quod tota manus illa marcuit usque ad cubitum. Postea videbatur ei in sompnis, quod quidam dixit ei ut iret ad tumbam prædicti episcopi, et poneret se in medio[4] foramine tumbæ, et diceret novies orationem Dominicam, et reciperet sanitatem. Ipsa autem ad tumbam veniens, antequam explesset nonam orationem, prius mirabiliter afflicta tandem obdormivit. Et cum evigilasset, vidit manum suam totam rubeam et curatam; ita quod usum illius habuit, sicut et alterius manus. Fuit autem in hac ægritudine, a die Dominica in qua hoc ei accidit, usque ad diem Veneris proximo sequentem.

Capitulum sextumdecimum.

And of three other cases of paralysis.

Tres quoque alii paralitici,[5] quorum curationem sub brevitate constringimus, ad sancti viri corpus plene sanati sunt. Quorum unus loquelam, et usum totius

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[1] This miracle forms section 24 of H.; which further tells us that the woman herself testified to the miracle before the papal commissioners, together with Thomas her priest and confessor, and a certain layman.

Instead of L.'s *Inetta quædam mulier*, T. has, "Quædam etiam "mulier, Iveta nomine." H. calls her "Oeta."

[2] *parvi*] So L. H.; pueri, T.

[3] *exsiccandum*] So L.; siccandum, H. T.

[4] *medio*] In L. T. B.; not in H.

[5] Of these three cases, the first only is in H. The others, no doubt, were in the lost part of it. The patient in this case, H. tells us, who had lost her speech and the use of her left side, was a woman named Margaret, who was cured at the tomb of St. Hugh. She herself bore witness before the papal commissioners, with two other women and a layman. The three cases are related in T. (Lect. VIII.), in the same brief way, and nearly the same words, as here in L.

partis sinistræ amiserat; alter vero, ore ad aurem converso, et uno oculorum elevato sursum, alteroque depresso, media[1] parte totius corporis sauciata;[2] tertius quoque ex omni parte corporis debilitatus; plenæ restituti sunt sanitati.[3]

Capitulum septimumdecimum.

These only a part of Hugh's miracles; as proved before the papal commissioners, archbishop Langton, and the abbot of Fountains.

Igitur[4] divinæ dignatio pietatis sanctum et electum suum, piæ recordationis,[5] hujus sanctæ sedis episcopum, fratres carissimi, tam in vita quam etiam post vestem mortalitatis exutam, ut audistis, in signum miraculorum[6] multitudine illustravit. Et licet aliorum multorum multiplici miraculorum eventu eum Dominus decoraverit,[7] quæ pro sui multitudine non possent sub brevitate narrari, ea sola duximus inserenda præsenti tractatui, de quorum veritate constat per inquisitionem ex altissima auctoritate et præcepto domini papæ Honorii tertii, a venerabili viro Stephano Cantuariensi archiepiscopo, cujus laus est in scientia, vita, et doctrina in universali ecclesia, et a prudenti viro abbate de Fontibus postea Elyensi episcopo,[8] per testes

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[1] *media*] So L.; mediaque, T. B.

[2] *sauciata*] After this T. has, "mirabiliter vexabatur."

[3] After these miracles, in the last section of Lection VIII., T. gives a brief account of the cure of a blind pauper, more fully related by Giraldus (*supra*, 126).

[4] This last chapter of L. forms Lection VII. of T.

[5] *recordationis*] After this is "Hugonem" in T.

[6] *miraculorum . . . multiplici*] This is omitted in L., the scribe having passed by mistake to the second *miraculorum* instead of the first. It is in T., and partly in B.

The *in signum* of L. and T. is probably a mistake for "insignium." What is here said is plainly taken from a bull of pope Honorius, announcing Hugh's canonization; from that given us in Rymer (i. 165), from the original in the Tower, and by Wendover (iv. 64); or from a similar bull, ordering his translation as well, preserved in the Brownlow MS. of the *Magna Vita* (Appendix I. *infra*; second of the bulls at the end). In these bulls the reading is "insignium."

[7] *decoraverit*] T. B.; illustravit, L.

[8] John, abbot of Fountains, was consecrated bishop of Ely March 8, 1220.

idoneos, juratos et examinatos, diligentissime factam. Qui quidem miracula eadem, apertissime probata, vitam quoque sanctam et mores commendabiles viri sancti interserentes, præfato summo pontifici juxta mandatum ipsius fideliter rescripserunt. Præmissis igitur[1] in auditorio sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ solempniter recitatis, cum morum sanctitas et prædictorum signorum virtutes concurrere viderentur, approbantibus cardinalibus et episcopis universis, qui apud sedem apostolicam tunc copiose præsentes intererant, sanctorum catalogo, non solum humano sed etiam divino judicio, pronunciante papa sanctissimo, conscribi meruit. Gratias ergo agamus gratiarum Largitori omnium, qui temporibus nostris, in quos, juxta apostolum, immo diu post apostolos, fines seculorum devenerunt, ad confirmandum catholicæ fidei puritatem, et ad corda fidelium in sui Redemptoris amore suaviter accendenda, sanctum virum[2] mirifice magnificavit, et lucernam super candelabrum posuit, ut omnes qui in domo ipsius[3] congregati sumus ipsius gaudeamus beneficio claritatis. Rogemus ergo[4] devotissime Conditorem nostrum, ut plebem suam, in sancti sui veneratione congregatam, a se non repellat, nec expertem gratiæ suæ relinquat; sed gloriosi sui pontificis meritis, quem post ipsum, et piissimam ejus genitricem, specialem meruimus obtinere patronum, veniam nobis præstet delictorum; Qui, inter ceteros sanctos suos, cœlestium ei plenitudinem contulit gaudiorum, Jhesus Christus Dominus noster; Cui, cum Patre, et Spiritu Sancto, sit honor et gloria in secula seculorum. Amen.

His canonization.

Exhortation to the worshippers in Lincoln cathedral.

Explicit de sancto Hugone Lyncolniensi episcopo.

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[1] *igitur*] So L.; ergo omnibus, T.

[2] *virum*] So L.; suum, T.

[3] *in domo ipsius*] This, with what follows, proves that this Legend was compiled for the purpose of being read in Lincoln cathedral on St. Hugh's day.

[4] *ergo*] L.; etiam, T.

Fuller Account of two of the above Miracles.[1]

Cure of the madman at Cheshunt, *supra*, as testified to by the abbot of Eynsham.

Abbas[2] de Eynsham, qui capellanus fuit dicti Hugonis episcopi, juratus dicit; quod interfuit Cesterhunt, ubi episcopus legit evangelium, "In principio "erat Verbum," super quendam nautam furiosum, cujus caput fuit ligatum ad postem, et manus ad paxillos tam a dextris quam a sinistris, et pedes similiter ad paxillum. Et dicit quod dum perlegeretur evangelium, furiosus, evertens faciem ab episcopo, emisit linguam ac si episcopum derideret. Quod cum videret episcopus, fecit aquam benedictam, et eum aspersit. Et vidit quod post aspersionem statim quievit: et in continenti cum domino suo episcopo recessit. Postmodum eo veniente cum domino abbate de Waltham, vocati fuerunt vicini, et interrogati quid accidisset de tali furioso. Responderunt quod sanus fuisset ex illa hora, qua aspersus fuerat ab episcopo, et postea vixit sanus per multos annos. Nos autem, volentes de hoc miraculo plenius certificari, scripsimus abbati de Waltham, et domino Ricardo capellano nostro, ut ad locum ipsum accedentes veritatem diligenter inquirerent. Qui mandato nostro obtemperantes, litteras[3] patentes super inquisitione memorata confectas nobis transmiserunt; quas et vobis transmittimus. Quarum tenor hic est.

Letters to the abbot of Waltham, &c., to make further enquiry.

Their answer.

Viris venerabilibus, dominis et patribus in Christo carissimis, S. Dei gratia Cantuariensi archiepiscopo,

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[1] I here add, from MS. Harleian 526 (H.), a fuller account of two miracles related above in the Legenda (Cap. 5, p. 177, and Cap. 4, p. 176).

[2] The MS. has " bbas," a blank space being left for the initial capital. This abbot of Eynsham was Adam, the author of the *Magna Vita S. Hugonis*, who bore testimony also to another miracle (*supra* 181, n. 1). He describes this miracle in the *Mag. Vit.* (p. 274, &c., and Preface, p. xxxviii, &c.), much as here before the papal commissioners.

[3] *litteras*] After this the MS. has "nostras," plainly by mistake. See *infra*, 191, l. 9.

totius Angliæ primati, et sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ cardinali, et abbati de Fontibus, R. Dei permissione dictus abbas de Waltham, et R. canonicus Sanctæ Trinitatis London', salutem, et devotam per omnia obedientiam. Suscepto mandato sanctitatis vestræ, nobis auctoritate apostolica injungente ut ad villam de Cesterhunt accederemus, inquisitari[1] quam diligentius secundum Dominum quam possemus super quodam miraculo, quod Dominus ibi operari dignatus est per merita felicis memoriæ Hugonis quondam Lincolniensis episcopi, nos quanta potuimus diligentia, prout decuit, illud ad effectum perducere cupientes, ad prædictum locum accessimus; et per testes fide dignos utriusque sexus evidenter didiscimus, quod quidam nomine Rogerus Colhoppe in prædicta villa circiter tres septimanas ita furiosus extitit, quod sine vinculis detineri non posset. Igitur quadam die Dominica accidit, quod prædicto episcopo, per prædictam villam transitum facienti, supplicaverunt quidam prædictum furiosum visitare dignaretur et benedicere. Quo audito, episcopus de equo descendens ad lectum furiosi quo ligatus graviter tenebatur accessit; et aquam annulo suo benedictam ei potandam dedit, et quoddam evangelium super illum legit, et prædicta aqua ipsum aspersit, et recessit. Confestim post recessum beati viri cœpit ægrotus prædictus dormitare; et evigilans ipso die, alienatione mentis penitus evacuata, per Dei gratiam plenæ restitutus est sanitati; ita quod asserunt dicti testes, quod nunquam postmodum aliquod verbum emitteret quod mentis saperet alienationem. Cum igitur, prout nobis videtur, de prædicto miraculo,—cum per assertionem prædictorum virorum, videlicet trium testium fidelium, et quatuor mulierum, qui omnes interfuerunt et viderunt; et per sacerdotem ejusdem

Their diligent enquiry.

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[1] *inquisitari*] So the MS.; "inquisituri," perhaps, would be the right reading.

villæ, qui, ut prædictum est, post recessum ipsius episcopi vidit ipsum convalescentem; tum per famam loci, prædictorum assertioni consentientem,—sufficienter nobis constet, sanctitatem vestram tam de numero testium, quam de eorum idoneitate, et ipsa rei veracitate, diligenter a nobis inquisita et cognita, litteratorie duximus certiorare. Hæc sunt nomina utriusque eorum, videlicet qui interfuerunt in domo rei gestæ; Walterus Faber, Philippus Faber, Michael filius Roberti, viri fide digni, duæ filiæ furiosi. Hii omnes interfuerunt, et testimonium perhibent de visu. Henricus capellanus de Cesterhunt, qui fere quotidie furiosum visitavit, non interfuit ubi episcopus dedit benedictionem ægroto; sed statim, ipsa eadem die Dominica, post recessum episcopi advenit, et hominem invenit a furia convalescentem, ita profecto quod ab illa hora, usque ad exitum vitæ suæ, nihil malum vel immundum, sicut prius, loqueretur. Walterus, capellanus sanctimonialium, testatur furiosum tunc esse curatum, et, ut credit, per merita felicis memoriæ Hugonis Lincolniensis episcopi. Omnes de die in diem concordant, scilicet quod die Dominica in villa de Cesterhunt. Præterea fama totius villæ clamat illud per memoratum episcopum evenisse. Omnes etiam jurati sunt.

Testimony of two clerks as to the cure of the child at Alconbury with the iron in its throat; *supra*, 176.

Rogerus et Petrus clerici jurati dixerunt, notum esse apud Alcmundesbyri quod parvulus quidam, videns in manu patris sui partem laminæ ferreæ, lucentem, gracilem, et acutam, eam, dante patre, recepit, et more puerorum ad os tulit. Quæ introlapsa gutturi firmiter adhæsit. De cujus vita desperans, monitu sacerdotis ad episcopum, qui tunc forte per eundem locum iter fecit,[1] gratia recuperandæ sanitatis properavit.

[1] *iter fecit*] This not in text of the MS., but added in the margin.

Episcopus vero, audito quod puer adhuc viveret, jussit illum adduci ad se: tangensque guttur benedixit, insufflavit, et dimisit a se. Cumque recessissent ab episcopo, de ore pueri ferrum sanguinolentem exsiliit.

Letters to the abbot of Sawtry, &c., to make further enquiry.

Nos autem de hoc miraculo volentes certificari plenius, scripsimus abbati de Sautrey, et priori de Hundendun, ut ad locum ipsum accedentes veritatem diligenter inquirerent. Qui mandato nostro obtemperantes, literas patentes super inquisitione memorata nobis confectas transmiserunt; quas et vobis transmittimus. Quarum tenor hic est.

The answer.

Reverendo domino et patri in Christo carissimo, S. Dei gratia Cantuariensi archiepiscopo, etc., et domino abbati de Fontibus, J. dictus abbas de Sautreie, et J. humilis prior de Huntendun, salutem et debitam in Christo reverentiam. Juxta mandatum vestrum accessimus ad villam de Alcmundesbiri, feria sexta proxima post festum sancti Leodegarii:[1] ubi diligenti inquisitione, convocatis parochianis in ecclesia, de miraculo illo cujus nobis inquisitionem injunxistis, scilicet de puero a ferro liberato, communi omnium testimonio, ad juramentum super hoc paratorum præstandum, cognovimus. Quosdam vero, qui eventum rei præsentialiter visu certius aliis cognoverunt, juramento astrictos examinavimus sub hac forma. Mater ipsius jurata dixit, quod puer ille, cum nondum unius esset anni, punctum cujusdam vomeris fracti, habentem in longitudine et latitudine plusquam unum pollicem, casu fortuito deglutivit. Mater vero præ dolore anxia flevit, abundanter lacrimas fundens. Quam Radulfus quidam nomine, patruus ipsius pueri, sic consolabatur; " Quid te namque dolore fatigas? Non morietur puer,

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[1] St. Leodegar's day is October 2. The Friday after this in 1219, in the autumn of which year, no doubt, the commissioners held their enquiry at Lincoln, would be on October 4. The bulls of pope Honorius III., announcing the canonization of St. Hugh, are dated February 17, 1220. See Appendix I. *infra*, last part.

" sed curabitur. In sompnis mihi revelatum est, quod " quidam vir sanctus transiturus est per villam istam, " qui ipsum est curaturus." Revelatio ista contigit nocte sequenti proxima post deglutionem ferri. Transactis postea quindecim diebus, transitum fecit venerabilis pater Hugo Lincolniensis episcopus: cujus adventui occurrit mater, et ei puerum præsentavit, rei eventum indicando. Episcopus vero gutture puerum manu compressit, et crucis signaculo signavit, ac dimisit. Transitum fecit episcopus sexta feria, et puerum tetigit et benedixit. Dominica vero sequente puer ferrum evomuit, multis præsentibus et circumstantibus. Soror ipsius Aelicia nomine, quæ præsens erat cum matre, jurata, per omnia idem dicit quod mater. Alia quædam mulier Leticia, quæ similiter præsens erat, jurata idem dicit. Tout juratus dicit, quod in ejectione ferri præsens fuit. Idem dicit Ranulfus patruus parvi, qui cum patre et matre cohabitabat; qui et visionem quæ prænominata est vidit. Multi ferrum viderunt, et de magnitudine mirabantur. Quidam vero capellanus ferrum illud, quasi rem miraculosam, inter reliquias usque ad tempus guerræ reservavit; et tunc illud cum reliquiis amisit. Nos autem, ut devoti filii, mandatum vestrum quanta potuimus diligentia exsequentes, multorum testimonio, tam de parochia illa quam de vicinia, illud esse notorium accepimus. Addunt etiam quod istud dudum habuerunt pro miraculo, et adhuc habent. Valete in Domino.

The child brought to Hugh on a Friday; the iron vomited the next Sunday.

The iron kept as a miraculous relic.

APPENDIX E.

Lives of the Bishops of Lincoln, by John de Schalby.

Martilogium.

Cathedralis ecclesiæ Lincolniensis fidelibus universis, Johannes de Schalby, canonicus ejusdem ecclesiæ, vitam bonam, exitumque felicem.

Cum, ob defectum scripturæ, rerum bene gestarum memoria sæpe perit, ego Johannes quædam contingentia statum ecclesiæ Lincolniensis prædictæ, quorum aliqua scripta reperi in archivis ecclesiæ memoratæ, aliqua a senioribus meis didici veritate fulciri, et aliqua fieri vidi, censui redigere in scripturam, ad certitudinem præsentium et memoriam futurorum.

De prima fundatione ecclesiæ Lincolniensis.

Tempore Willielmi regis Anglorum primi, natione Normanni, qui virtute bellica subjugaverat sibi regnum, Remigius, natione Normannus ac monachus Fiscamensis, qui ob certam causam venerat cum eodem in episcopum Dorkecestrensem, ecclesiæ cathedrali competentior[1] videbatur transferri anno Domini

Remigius bishop.

[1] *competentior*] There is clearly something wrong here. "Compe-"tentiori, ut videbatur" would give something like sense; but I believe the whole sentence to be corrupt. I give it as in the *Consuetudinarium* (MS. Lincoln).

Vit. S. Rem. Cap. IV. *supra*, 18.

M^oLXXXVI. laboriosissime procuravit: et, datis per regem prædictum Eboracensi archiepiscopo in excambium possessionibus, totam Lyndeseyam suæ diocesi et provinciæ Cantuariensi conjunxit. Et ut firmiori quod gestum fuerat stabilitate constaret, cathedralem ecclesiam suam apud Lincolniam, in summo montis vertice, in honore beatæ Mariæ virginis fecit fundari, et in brevi egregie consummari. Sicut longe ante miraculosis quibusdam signis et prodigiis, multisque sanctorum tam virorum quam mulierum visionibus divinitus fuerat declaratum.

Ibid., V. *supra*, 20.

Constituta vero ecclesia, et juxta ritum Rothomagensis ecclesiæ stabiliter collocata, viginti et unum canonicos constituit in eadem; datis præbendis et assignatis eisdem, et cunctorum altarium totius ecclesiæ oblationibus canonicis ipsis perpetua largitione concessis. Quibus peractis, munus consecrationis erectæ ecclesiæ impendere disposuit, certo die ad hoc perficiendum electo. Sed dispositioni suæ restitit mors adversa, quæ ipsum quarto die ante diem dedicationis præfixum, anno Domini M^oXCI., abstulit ab hac luce.

Ibid., VI. *supra*, 22.

Et quantum Deo carus extiterat in vita, miracula post obitum ejus contingentia declararunt.

Church of St. Mary Magdalen.

In loco autem[1] in quo ecclesia beatæ Mariæ Magdalenæ in ballio Lincolniensi sita erat, dictus Remigius erexit suam ecclesiam cathedralem. Et in certo loco ipsius ecclesiæ cathedralis, parochiani dictæ ecclesiæ beatæ Mariæ Magdalenæ divina obsequia audierunt, ac in fonte cathedralis ecclesiæ eorum parvuli baptizati fuerunt, et in ipsius cœmiterio corpora parochianorum

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[1] Giraldus, naturally, has nothing of this section. Most probably it was taken by J. de Schalby from some other source than the early Martilogium, whence alone Giraldus would draw his materials for his history of the bishops.

The parishioners of St. Mary Magdalen had their church in the nave of the cathedral for about two centuries; until bishop Oliver Sutton (1280–1299) built a church for them on the present site (*infra*, 209). They retained their churchyard, on the south side of the nave of the cathedral, until very recently.

in obitu sepulturæ tradita extiterunt; per quemdam presbiterum de ecclesia cathedrali, qui eis alia sacramenta et sacramentalia ministravit, ad hoc specialiter deputatus per decanum et capitulum dictæ ecclesiæ cathedralis; penes quos proprietas jurisdictionis ordinariæ, sede vacante, de jure, et sede plena ipsius exercitium in ecclesia, et ipsius præbendis ac ecclesiis de communa, de introducta consuetudine pertinebat. Et iste presbiter per dictos decanum et capitulum, et non per episcopum, curæ hujusmodi deputatus, jurisdictionem ordinariam super dictos parochianos ex commissione capituli exercebat, tam in correctionibus quam in . . . . . in eis. Si excessit, vel alias injuriose processit, ad capitulum appellatum fuit de consuetudine memorata. Decimis, oblationibus, et ceteris proventibus ex dictis parochianis provenientibus, sibi pro stipendio assignatis.

De Roberto Bluet, et actis ejus.

Dicto autem Remigio successit in episcopatum Robertus Bluet, natione Normannus, anno Domini M°XCII., tempore Willielmi regis Angliæ junioris. Hic pannis obsericis,[1] capis auro contextis, philateriis, crucibus, et textis aureis et argenteis, artificum diligentia mirifice fabricatis, ecclesiam suam laudabiliter adornavit. Terras plurimas et maneria perquisivit; præbendas quoque in duplum multiplicavit; cum enim viginti et unum invenisset, totidem adjiciens quadraginta duas implevit. Monachos quoque de Stowe usque ad Eynesham transtulit, facta commutatione laudabili, et ecclesiæ Lincolniensi accommodata, propter manerii propinquitatem,

Robert Bloet, bishop.
Vit. S. Rem., Cap. XXI. *supra*, 31.

[1] *obsericis*] No doubt a scribal blunder for "olosericis," which is the word in Giraldus (*supra*, 32, l. 1). In 12th and 13th century manuscripts, *lo* and *b* are very often closely alike. The same blunder occurs in the *Magna Vita S. Hugonis*; see the Glossary to that volume.

tam propter vicinitatem utilem præbendarum. Et monasterii de Eynesham patronatum sibi et suis successoribus reservavit. Controversiam autem magnam, a Thoma archiepiscopo Eboracensi super Lindesia recuperanda, suaque diocesi redintegranda, sumptibus et litibus sustentatam, sedatam per regem Willielmum secundum, cujus cancellarius idem Robertus fuerat, mediantibus fiscalibus facultatibus et excambiis, perpetua transactione curavit. Sed hujus Roberti tempore, per regiam voluntatem et violentiam, Eliensis ecclesia desiit esse Lincolniensis filia, et facta est cathedralis. Manerium quoque de Spaldwyk, cum pertinentiis, in excambium a monasterio Eliensi suscepit. Idem item Robertus centum librarum pallium, peregrinis sabellinarum pellibus, nigris atque interjecta canitie respersis, et exquisitissimo panno consertum, regi Henrico primo dedit; et suos successores ad donaria similia obligavit.

Charters in favour of the canons.

Robertus,[1] Dei gratia Lincolniensis episcopus, omnibus fidelibus Dei salutem. Noverit universitas vestra nos remisisse omnibus prebendis Lincolniensis ecclesiæ, in perpetuum, omnia jura episcopalia, et omnes exactiones. Et volumus quod omnes canonici Lincolnienses perpetuam in prebendis suis, et omnibus possessionibus quæ ad prebendas pertinent, libertatem habeant. Ita quod de cetero nulli liceat archidiacono, vel archidiaconorum officiali, de prebendis, vel de ecclesiis quæ ad communionem Lincolniensis ecclesiæ pertinent, aliquid exigere, vel homines eorum in placitum ponere; sed

[1] The two charters which follow are not given by Giraldus, and no doubt were not in the Martilogium whence he drew his account of Bloet. Moreover, Schalby is wrong in attributing them to Robert Bloet; they belong to Robert de Chesney, his second successor. The witness, Martin the treasurer, at once proves this. There was a treasurer Martin in Chesney's time; and there had been no treasurer of the name before 1147, when Henry of Huntingdon wrote his epistle to Walter, long after Bloet's time. See *Anglia Sacra*, ii. 695, l. 38.

There is an early copy of this first charter in the *Reg. Antiquiss.* f. 9 b, ; and on f. 10 is a confirmation of it by pope Alexander.

eandem omnino habeant canonici libertatem in prebendis suis, quam habent canonici Sarisbiriensis ecclesiæ in suis. Præfatam vero libertatem subdecanatui, et ecclesiæ Lettune,[1] quæ ad subdecanatum pertinere dignoscitur, necnon et ecclesiæ Omnium Sanctorum in ballio Lincolniensi,[2] quæ de cancellaria est nostræ ecclesiæ, perpetuo concedimus. Et præsentes sigilli nostri attestatione communimus et corroboramus. Testibus, Martino thesaurario,[3] Radulpho subdecano, Galfrido capellano domini regis, Willielmo de Bugden capellano, Fulcone de Caysun canonico, magistro Radulpho medico, Laurentio, Gilberto de Sempringham, Willielmo, Clement priore de Ellysham, Thoma canonico de Grymesby, et magistro Ralgero, et aliis.

Robertus,[4] permissione divina[5] Lincolniensis episcopus, omnibus archidiaconis per episcopatum Lincolniensem constitutis salutem. Noverit universitas vestra nos in perpetuum absolvisse omnes canonicos Lincolniensis ecclesiæ a subjectione quam de prebendis eorum[6] exigere quondam consuevistis. Testibus, Martino thesaurario, Galfrido capellano domini[7] regis, magistro Radulpho,[8] etc.

Hic Robertus diem clausit extremum A.D. MCXXIII. : et successit illi eodem anno quidam Alexander, de Normannia similiter oriundus. Hic prebendas aliquot adjecit, ac terras aliquas et maneria adquisivit. Sed

Alexander, bishop. Vit. S. Rem., Cap. XXII. *supra*, 33.

[1] *Lettune*] Lectoniæ in *Reg. Antiquiss.*

[2] *Lincolniensi*] Not in *Reg. Antiquiss.*

[3] Martin the treasurer is the only witness given in *Reg. Antiquiss.*

[4] There is a copy of this charter on one of two leaves of an early Chartulary, now inserted in the *Reg. Antiquiss.* after f. 8.

[5] *permissione divina*] Instead of this, "Dei gratia" in the early Chartulary.

[6] *eorum*] After this is, in the early Chartulary, "et earum pertinentiis, "tam in prebendis quam in homini-"bus et omnibus ad eas pertinen-"tibus."

[7] *domini*] Not in the early Chartulary.

[8] The early Chartulary adds,—"et magr Henr. Fulc. et Willo "capellano."

ex terris ecclesiæ suæ et redditibus monasteria construxit. Tria quoque erexit castella in ecclesiæ suæ terris. Et pallium, quod prædecessor suus primo dedit, et ipse sine contradictione persolvit. Ecclesiam tamen Lincolniensem, igne casuali consumptam, egregie reparavit, et primus eam voltis lapideis communivit. Anno autem xiii°. regis Stephani idem Alexander obiit et decessit.

Robert de Chesney, bishop. Vit. S. Rem., Cap. XXIII. *supra*, 34.

Successit autem Alexandro Robertus de Cheyneto, natione Anglicus sed cognatione Normannus. Hic quasdam terras alienavit, et neptibus suis nuptum tradendis donavit. Quatuor autem ecclesias in suis maneriis constitutas, et unam prebendam, ordini de Sempringham in perpetuum contulit, in ecclesiæ Lincolniensis læsionem perpetuam. In trecentis vero libris Aaron Judæo suam ecclesiam obligavit. Mercatus autem nonnullos et nundinas perutiles, et unam prebendam, ac domos de Veteri Templo Londini, cum terra in qua sitæ sunt, suis successoribus acquisivit.

Geoffrey, bishop elect. Ibid., Cap. XXIV., *supra*, 36.

Quo mortuo A.D. MCLXVII., bona episcopalia per detestabiles abusus multis annis enormiter usurpata fuerunt. Sed tandem Galfridus clericus electus, regis Henrici secundi filius, de archidiacono Lincolniensi ad sedis ejusdem cathedram sublimatus. Hic Galfridus ornamenta ecclesiæ suæ, quæ trecentis libris Aaron Judæo per suum prædecessorem fuerant obligata, facta redemptione, a Judæi manibus liberavit. Et ornatus ecclesiæ ex proprio plurimum ampliavit: et inter cetera, duas campanas grandes atque sonoras dictæ ecclesiæ devota largitione donavit. Terrasque nonnullas recuperavit amissas. Completoque in episcopatu septennio, tandem anno Domini MCLXXXII. episcopatui sponte renunciavit; et processu temporis in Eboracensem archiepiscopum est assumptus.

Successit autem huic Galfrido Walterus, de Constantiis dictus, sed re vera de Cornubia natus; vir affabilis, literarum studiis conditus, ac in secularibus curiæque negotiis prudens. Qui unum episcopatum per annum est,[1] per viam postulationis in archiepiscopum Rothamagensem assumptus. In uno tamen ecclesiam Lincolniensem graviter læsit, et ejusdem capitulum in immensum offendit, in gloria sua maculam magnam ponens; in hoc videlicet, quod ecclesias illas quas prædecessor ejusdem Robertus de Cheyneto alienaverat, in discessu suo ordini de Sempringham, qua gratia seu beneficio præveniente vel subsequente nescitur, cartarum suarum munimine roboravit.

Walter de Coutances, bishop. Vit. S. Rem., Cap. XXV. *supra*, 38.

Successit autem Waltero Hugo de Aveloni, de Burgundia natus, originem ducens a parentibus ordinis militaris, et arctissimis Cartusiensis ordinis regulis mancipatus. Qui pro moribus castis, actibusque sanctissimis, et laboribus multis in regimine animarum, et resistentia ascendentibus contra suam ecclesiam ex adverso, cœlestis loci ac sanctorum catallogo conjungi meruit et ascribi. Qualiter autem in regimine animarum, et terminatione materiarum ecclesiæ se habuit, in Vita sua[2] quæ in ecclesia Lincolniensi habetur conscripta, plene poterit reperiri. Non est tamen omittendum quod, inter cetera, pallium domino regi concessum, ut præmittitur, a rege Ricardo redemit, et ecclesiam suam ab ejus solutione in perpetuum liberavit. Et patronatum monasterii de Eynesham, qui in casu

Hugh de Avalon, of Burgundy, bishop. Ibid., Cap. XXVI. *supra*, 39.

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[1] There is something plainly wrong here, though the meaning is clear enough. The passage is preserved to us only in Brown Willis's very corrupt extracts.

[2] *Vita sua*] This, very probably, was the *Magna Vita*; and the copy of it which Leland found at Lincoln, and gives notes from in his *Itinerary* (viii. f. 48 b); see *Mag. Vit. S. Hugonis*, 1, n. 1. A *Vita S. Hugonis* occurs, in a late 15th century catalogue of their books, in a MS. in the record room of the dean and chapter.

amissionis extitit tempore suo, illibatum suæ ecclesiæ servavit. Et fabricam matricis ecclesiæ suæ a fundamento construxit novam: et aulam episcopalem egregiam inchoavit. Et capitulo suo concessit literas quæ sequuntur.

Hugh's letters to the archdeacons, about the Whitsuntide visit to Lincoln.

Hugo,[1] Dei gratia Lincolniensis episcopus, omnibus archidiaconis et eorum officialibus per diocesim Lincolniensem constitutis, salutem et Dei benedictionem. Cum cura et solicitudo Lincolniensis ecclesiæ, quam Deo authore regendam suscepimus, nos admodum invitent ea quæ hactenus minus bene fuerint ordinata in meliorem statum redigere, canonicorum ibidem Deo jugiter famulantium commodo imposterum profuturo invigilare tenemur. Movemur siquidem, nec illud clausis oculis de cetero præterire possumus, quod etiam vos movere deberet et non movemini, ad quos specialius pertinet cura et solicitudo ecclesiæ Lincolniensis, quod cum tantam habeat filiorum multitudinem, ipsi eam contemnunt, ut saltem eam semel in anno, secundum consuetudinem ecclesiæ nostræ, quæ in aliis ecclesiis episcopalibus celebris habetur, eam in propria persona, vel de suis facultatibus condignas oblationes mittendo, negligant visitare. Quod quidem ex negligentia clericorum, potius quam laicorum simplicitate, novimus accidisse. Quocirca universitati vestræ authoritate qua fungimur præcipimus, quatinus decanis, personis, presbiteris, per nostram diocesim constitutis, in virtute obedientiæ injungatis, ut in singulis parochiis singuli capellani fideles sibi commissos ad hoc sufficienter authoritate nostra inducant, quod de singulis domibus aliqui in festo Penthecostes ad locum consuetum et processionibus destinatum singulis annis satagant convenire, oblationes condignas in remissionem peccatorum suorum, et in signum obedientiæ et recordationis matris

[1] There is an early copy of this letter of bishop Hugh in the *Reg. Antiquiss.* f. 184 b.

suæ Lincolniensis ecclesiæ offerentes. Jubeatis etiam ut singuli decani personis presbiteris sibi commissis authoritate nostra præcipiant, quatinus universi attenta solicitudine provideant, ut, nominibus parochianorum suorum seorsum notatis decanis cum clericis nostris in Penthecoste ad hoc destinandis, sciant per nominum annotationes fideliter respondere, qui secundum mandatum nostrum ut filii obedientes vel venerint vel miserint, et qui mandatum nostrum transgredientes venire vel mittere neglexerunt.

Consimilem literam concessit episcopus Willielmus,[1] successor Hugonis prædicti.

And to the dean and chapter about non-resident canons:

Hugo,[2] Dei gratia Lincolniensis episcopus, dilectis in Christo filiis, decano et capitulo Lincolniensis ecclesiæ, salutem et Dei benedictionem. Quia fervens habemus desiderium, ut ad honorem Dei, et beatæ Virginis genitricis ejus Mariæ, in ecclesia Lincolniensi debita celebritate singulis quibusque temporibus, prout decet, divina celebrentur; ad id competenter et commode prosequendum, canonicorum et vicariorum ibi residentium utilitati prospicere cupientes, tibi decano et canonicis residentibus, et si decanus fuerit absens, tibi subdecano et canonicis residentiam facientibus, hanc potestatem indulgemus; ut nostra authoritate licitum sit vobis coercere omnes canonicos qui non faciunt residentiam, per detentionem prebendæ suæ, ut idoneos vicarios loco suo constituant, et de communi consilio canonicorum residentium eis honestam et sufficientem sustentationem provideant. Præterea vobis etiam hanc facimus indulgentiam, ut omnes injustos detentores communæ vestræ, et omnes qui vel hominibus vel possessionibus, ad eandem communam pertinentibus, injuriam, molestiam, vel gravamen intulerint, liberum sit vobis ecclesiastica censura coercere, et in eos usque

who are to be compelled to appoint and provide for vicars to fill their place.

Also about detainers of the church commons: against whom the chapter are to proceed

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[1] The letter of bishop William is in the *Reg. Antiquiss.* f. 184 b.

[2] This letter also is in the *Reg. Antiquiss.* f. 185 b.

by ecclesiastical censure.

ad condignam satisfactionem canonicam justitiam exercere. Salvo in omnibus jure episcopi, et ejus potestate. Nec liceat archidiaconis, decanis, vel aliis officialibus Lincolniensis episcopatus, excommunicatos aut interdictos a vobis absolvere, citra mandatum episcopi vel vestri. Præcipimus autem ut sententia, quæ a vobis lata fuerit, per archidiaconos vel decanos, seu alios episcopatus officiales, executioni mandetur.

Consimilem literam concessit episcopus Willielmus,[1] successor Hugonis prælibati.

William de Blois, bishop, 1203-1206.

Dicto autem Hugone mortuo mundaliter, sed vivente cum Deo perenniter, succesit ei magister Willielmus de Bleynis,[2] Lincolniensis ecclesiæ præcentor; vir literatus et benignus, cujus memoria in benedictione, ut pie traditur a nonnullis. Nam circiter centum annis a corporis sui humatione[3] effluxis, cum corpus suum a loco in quo jacebat humatum amotum fuisset, prætextu pulchrioris fabricæ in ecclesia faciendæ, inventum fuit integrum; et vinum in calice, cum quo humatum fuerat, recens, ut videbatur, et purum.

His continence under temptation.

Refertur de eo quod, cum Parisiis statum teneret in artibus magistralem, domina quædam Parisiensis abundans, videns eum corpore elegantem, concupivit speciem carnis suæ. Et quadam vice, in vesperis, ip-

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[1] This letter, again, is in the *Reg. Antiquiss.* f. 185.

[2] *Bleynis*] So in Brown Willis's extracts; "Bleynes" in Matthew Hutton's; the only authorities who give the name from J. de Schalby. Both, no doubt, are corrupt.

William de Blois was consecrated August 24, 1203, and died May 10, 1206. He had been precentor of Lincoln since 1196.

[3] This would be about 1306. The only work in hand at the fabric, anywhere near this time, of which we have any record, was the building of the upper portion of the central tower. Still, as Schalby is here speaking of an event in his days at Lincoln, there was no doubt some other work in hand about this time, of which we have no record, which made the removal of William de Blois's body necessary. Moreover, there are remains in the choir of work of about this date, the Easter Sepulchre for instance, which may well have been the work here mentioned by Schalby.

sum de campo quo causa spatiandi adierat venientem in hospicium suum callide introduxit; et cœna splendida sibi facta, cum tantam moram ibi fecisset quod illa hora noctis hospicium proprium adire periculum sibi foret, per totam noctem cogitur commorari. Assignataque sibi camera certa, et lecto sibi parato in ea, cum lectum fuisset ingressus, et commisisset se quieti, accessit ad eum dicta domina secrete, et lectum ipsius ingressa ipsum modis quibus potuit ad carnalem copulam provocavit. Sed cum ipse nollet ipsius libidini consentire, appropinquante aurora, mulier, verso dorso ad parietem, eum a lecto pedibus expulit impudenter. Qui se induens pannos suos, adivit scholas suas, et lectionem suam legit sicut potuit illa vice. Finita autem lectione eo scholas egresso, dicta domina, vestibus preciosis induta, in luto cecidit flexis genibus ante eum, petens ab eo veniam de commisso. Qua optenta, eadem domina, quæ antea vixerat dissolute, ex tunc vixit toto vitæ suæ tempore continenter.

Defuncto Willielmo prædicto, successit ei Hugo de Wells, regis Angliæ cancellarius.[1] Qui, anno Domini

Hugh de Wells, bishop, 1209–1235.

[1] *cancellarius*] This seems a mistake for "clericus." His name occurs frequently, in the rolls of John's reign, the Charter rolls more especially, from 1200 to 1209; but only as the king's clerk. Wendover however (iii. 228) calls him archdeacon of Wells and the king's chancellor, when elected to Lincoln, and moreover says (231), that when John heard of his consecration by Langton, he seized into his hands the bishopric of Lincoln, and appointed Walter de Gray his chancellor.

This is certainly wrong; for Walter de Gray became chancellor in October 1205, and held the office until July 1214.

In the Rolls he is first called archdeacon of Wells on May 1, 1204; and so to March 29, 1209. April 12, 1209, he is for the first time called elect of Lincoln. He had held other preferments besides the archdeaconry of Wells; amongst which the prebend of Louth in Lincoln cathedral, to which he was presented by the king in March 1203 (*Rot. Lit. Pat.* 27). He was sometime rector of Aldefrith, Norfolk, where he seems to have built a new church dedicated to St. Nicholas (*Rot. Lit. Claus.* 159). Upon

MºCCIX. episcopatum adeptus, vii. Idus Februarii MºCCXXXV., in Domino, ut traditur, obdormivit.

Hic aulam episcopalem, a sancto Hugone egregie inchoatam, ut præmittitur, et coquinam, sumptuoso opere consummavit. Et plura alia bona fecit.

Robert Grostête, bishop, 1235–1253.

Anno autem quo prædictus obiit Hugo, electus fuit in episcopum Robertus dictus Grosteste, canonicus ecclesiæ Lincolniensis, et a sancto Edmundo archiepiscopo Cantuariensi consecratus.[1] Hic fuit eminenti præclarus scientia literarum, et doctor theologiæ famosus: cujus opiniones[2] . . . . . a theologia reputantur. Hic personaliter interfuit concilio Lugdunensi, sub Innocentio quarto pontifice celebrato; in quo depositus fuit ab imperio Fredericus. Hic missus prædicare,[3] prædicatoris

At the council of Lyons in 1245.

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his election to Lincoln in 1209, he was sent by John into Normandy, to be consecrated by the archbishop of Rouen. Instead of this he went to Langton, and was consecrated by him at Melun, December 20 of that year (Wendover, iii. 231). John, of course, seized the bishoprick of Lincoln into his hands; and Hugh de Wells, of course, did not return into England until after John had succumbed.

He died, as our author says, February 7, 1235. His will is preserved at Lincoln, dated June 1, 1233, which I give *infra* in Appendix G.

The invaluable Rolls and Registers of the bishops of Lincoln, —perfect, almost, henceforward up to about 1500, and far later for anything I can say to the contrary,— commence in January 1220, the 11th year of his pontificate.

[1] Grostête was consecrated at Reading; but the day on which the consecration took place is variously stated by such chroniclers as give it. The Winchester Annals say, 15 Kal. June, *i.e.* May 18; the Tewkesbury, June 15. Wendover and M. Paris say, June 3; Thos. Wikes, June 17; and the Lanercost chronicler, September 29. Of these days in 1235, all but June 3 and 17 must at once be dismissed as impossible, because not falling on a Sunday. Professor Stubbs, in his *Episcopal Succession*, has adopted Wikes's date, June 17. He no doubt had good reason for this; but Wendover's June 3, to ordinary comprehension, seems to rest on far better authority.

[2] We have here only Brown Willis's very corrupt extracts. The gap is according to him.

[3] Here again we have only Brown Willis. His reading looks more like "pedicone" than *prædicare*. Perhaps Schalby wrote "Huic com-" missa prædicatione," or something like it. The gap after *nedum* is according to Brown Willis.

officium ad quem pertinuit delinquentes arguere sic implevit, quod nedum . . . . pontificem, sed et curiales super multis arguere non expavit: cujus prætextu indignationem incurrit non modicam eorundem. Hic litem contra capitulum suum Lincolniense, super jure visitandi idem capitulum, ac prebendas exteriores prebendis interioribus annexas, ecclesias de communa, aliisque pluribus articulis, in Romana curia obtinebat[1] et sententiam reportavit.

His preaching before the pope and court of Rome. His suit with his chapter; and victory.

Zelum ferventissimum habens ad procurandam salutem animarum in sua diocesi, et hoc in pontificis officii executione sollicita ostendere non cessavit; et sic, in dilectione libertatis ecclesiasticæ, murum pro domo Domini se opposuit, quod episcopi nomen recte sibi competere comprobavit. Cum his et aliis meritis pius episcopus hic fulguit, decidit in ægritudinem; qua ab hac luce subtractus, vi. idus Octobris[2] M°CCLIII., ad gaudia sanctorum transivit.

His fervent zeal in ruling his diocese.

His death.

Nam post ipsius obitum, bonorum omnium Retributor Altissimus operari dignatus est pro eodem plurima miracula manifesta. Inter quæ, tumba marmorea ejusdem viri Dei oleum purissimum repetitis vicibus, plurimis in ecclesia præsentibus, emanavit. Et licet

Miracles afterwards.

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[1] The Dunstable Annals (p. 168, Luard) tell us that Grostête obtained this victory over the canons of Lincoln, in the council at Lyons in 1245.

[2] There is great variety again, as of the day of his consecration, so of the day of his death, amongst the chroniclers who mention it. They all agree, however, as to the month and year. He died 4 Non. October (October 4), according to the Winchester Annals; Non. (October 7), Continuation of Flor. of Worc., and the Burton Annals; 8 Id. (October 8), the Peterborough Chronicle (Camden Society), and the Spalding Chronicle (*Chron. Angl. Petribury.* of Sparke and Giles); 7 Id. (October 9), M. Paris; on St. Calixtus's day, October 14, the Dunstable Annals.

The 6 Id. (October 10) of my text is probably the true day. The authority for its having been the reading of J. de Schalby, is a note in Richardson's Godwin: "Ita *Martilogium* "penes Dec. et Cap. Linc." Brown Willis, who alone gives us here the text of Schalby, has "Idus" only. Richardson's note is very far more trustworthy. This day is adopted, without hesitation, by Professor Stubbs, in his *Episcopal Succession.*

Ineffectual efforts for his canonization.

decanus et capitulum Lincolniense pro canonizatione ejusdem[1] sedi apostolicæ scripserint vicibus repetitis, muniti literis regularibus, et procerum regni tam clericorum quam laicorum, miracula ad invocationem Dei ob merita dicti viri facta testificantibus, una cum vita et conversatione ejusdem, in nullo, ante confectionem præsentis tractatus, qua de causa Deus novit, proficere potuerunt.

Henry de Lexinton, bishop, 1253–1258.

Successit dicto Roberto Henricus de Lexington. Qui in crastino beati Thomæ martyris MCCLIIII.[2] in epi-

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[1] The great effort for his canonization seems to have been about 1307; see Godwin, and Richardson's note, and Wharton's *Anglia Sacra*, ii. 343. As to his beatitude, the Lincoln authorities settled the matter for themselves, notwithstanding the refusal of papal canonization. His "tumba" had its regular custodians, its devotees, and its offerings. In 1314 bishop Dalderby,— himself afterwards in like manner a saint of Lincoln, though rejected as such at Rome,—granted an indulgence of forty days to worshippers at Grostête's tomb (*Mem. Dalderby*, MS. Linc., f. 278). In after times the "tumbæ" of bishops Grostête and Dalderby seem to have received almost as much veneration as the "feretrum" of St. Hugh. There are many mentions of them; I will give one instance: in 1345, Galfrid Luterel, lord of Irnham, bequeaths in his will, "feretro S. Hu-"gonis quoddam jocale argenteum "de pondere 20*s*., item ad tumbam "S. Roberti unum jocale argen-"teum de pondere 20*s*., item ad "tumbam S. Joh. de Dalderby "unum jocale argenteum de pon-"dere 20*s*." (*Mem. Beck.*, MS. Linc., f. 101.)

[2] MCCLIIII.] *i.e.* reckoning the year as beginning with Christmas day. He was elected December 30, 1253, consecrated May 17, 1254, and enthroned at Lincoln June 29 (Dunstable Annals, p. 190, Luard). All authorities, I believe, who mention the day, place his death, with our author, on August 8, 1258.

Henry de Lexinton had been dean of Lincoln since 1245. He was one of several eminent brothers, of a family who took their name from Lexinton, now Laxton, Notts. One of these brothers, Robert de Lexinton,—past and present associations are my excuse for adding, —was a canon of Southwell, and a large benefactor there. Amongst other benefactions, he gave to Southwell the rectory of Barnburgh, which I now hold. None of these brothers left issue. On the death of the bishop of Lincoln in 1258, their large possessions came to Richard de Markham and William de Sutton, sons of sisters (*Excerpt. e Rot. Fin.*, Record Commission, ii. 250, 287). For many genera-

scopum Lincolniensem electus, et eodem anno consecratus, tandem sexto Iduum Augusti MCCLVIII. terminum vitæ posuit temporalis.

Huic Henrico successit Ricardus de Gravesend, ecclesiæ Lincolniensis decanus. Qui eodem quo dictus Henricus obiit anno electus fuit in episcopum et consecratus.[1] Richard de Gravesend, bishop, 1258–1279.

Hic plures ecclesias suo capitulo appropriavit; et advocationes plurium ecclesiarum sibi et suis successoribus impetravit.[2] Hic statuit ut choristæ ecclesiæ, duodecim numero, qui prius vixerant de elemosina canonicorum, ex tunc sub uno magistro viverent in communi, et inhabitarent communiter unam domum. Et ad sustentationem eorum tam pensiones, quam alios proventus ecclesiasticos, ex quibus possent competenter vivere, assignavit. Hic calicem unum aureum pretiosum, imaginem gloriosæ Virginis Mariæ argenteam deauratam, et alias imagines argenteas deauratas, ecclesiæ suæ contulit: et tam vestibus preciosis, quam capis, et pannis sericis, multipliciter adornavit. Ob quod eterna erit in memoria nomen ejus. His many benefactions.

Hujus tempore controversia magna, quæ inter archiepiscopum Cantuariensem Bonifacium ex parte una, ac decanum et capitulum ecclesiæ Lincolniensis ex altera, The controversy with archbishop of Canterbury settled.

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tions afterwards, Markham was a name of fame in Notts. The manor of Averham, Notts, was part of the property which came to Wm. de Sutton, and still belongs to Mr. Manners Sutton, a descendant through an heiress who married a Manners. The present Sir John Sutton, and his brothers, and others of the name, are direct descendants, in the male line, from the Wm. de Sutton of 1258.

[1] He was consecrated November 3, 1258, and died on Monday, December 18, 1279. He had succeeded Lexinton as dean in 1254. He was a warm adherent of Simon de Montfort, and suffered grievously in consequence (*Chron. Petroburg.*, Camden Soc., 19; and Dunstable Annals, 247, Luard).

[2] Gravesend's benefactions, with an enumeration of the churches acquired by him, will be found more fully described in the Chapter Act (Appendix II., *infra*).

super exercitio jurisdictionis in ecclesiis et diocesi Lincolniensi, ipsius sede vacante, inchoata fuerat, conquievit.[1] Obiit Ricardus 15 Kal. Jan. 1279.

His death, Dec. 18, 1279.

Oliver de Sutton, bishop, 1280–1299.

Dicto autem Ricardo successit magister Oliverus de Sutton, canonicus Lincolniensis ecclesiæ et decanus. Qui viii. Idus Februarii,[2] eodem anno quo dictus Ricardus obiit, in episcopum Lincolniensem per viam inspirationis electus, die sancti Dunstani prosequente[3] fuit a Johanne Cantuariensi archiepiscopo consecratus.

His learning.

Hic vir fuit literatus, utpote qui in artibus rexerat, in jure civili et canonico studuerat; et in theologia proposuerat ascendisse cathedram magistralem, sed retraxit eum a proposito assumptio sua in decanum dictæ ecclesiæ cathedralis.

His good government, and non-extortion.

Hic, fultus ingenuo natali, fuit in regimine tam temporalium quam spiritualium circumspectus, et domui suæ bene præpositus; non tamen cupidus, nec extortor. Omnem enim pecuniam, ad quam mulctaverat adulteros vel fornicatores, seu aliter delinquentes, fratribus mendicantibus, pauperibus monialibus, et pauperibus parochiarum in quibus delicta fuerunt perpetrata, per manus delinquentium, subdecanorum ruralium testimonio, fecit solvi; nihil de pecunia hujusmodi retinens sibi ipsi. Servos suos nativos, per maneria constitutos, in nullo extra suum servitium debitum et solitum, exactionibus

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[1] Archbishop Boniface had claimed this jurisdiction, upon the death of Grostête in 1253 (M. Paris, 589, Wats). The "Compositio litis," in 1261, is in Wilkins's *Concilia*, i. 756.

[2] *i.e.* February 6, 1280; Tuesday after the Purification, as in the Peterborough Chronicle (Camden Soc., p. 34). He had been dean since 1275. In a later portion of Hutton's extracts from Schalby (Harleian 6954), is the following:—"Dominus episcopus Oliverus, "ante assumptionem suam episcopalem, fuit decanus per quinquennium; et ante dignitatem decani "adeptam residens personaliter per "quinquennium, sicut traditur. "Factus episcopus contulit domino "decano duas dignitates, et ad "minus tres præbendas per vices."

[3] *i.e.* Sunday, May 19, 1280.

vel talliis oneravit; sed pauperes de maneriis sua frequenter pecunia visitavit.

In uno tamen excessit. In hoc videlicet, quod cum taxator ecclesiarum, ad decimam concessam in subsidium Terræ Sanctæ, fuisset per sedem apostolicam deputatus,[1] prebendas et ecclesias suæ diocesis taxari permisit nimium excessive. De quo ante mortem pœnituit vehementer. Wrong in one point. Pope Nicholas's taxation.

Hujus Oliveri temporibus, communæ canonicorum ecclesiæ Lincolniensis, quæ prius ad octo denarios tantum extenderant se per diem, ad duodecim denarios auctæ fuerunt.[2] Increase of the daily commons of the canons.

Hic, ob quietem ministrantium in ecclesia cathedrali, frequenter turbatam per confluentiam parochianorum olim ecclesiæ beatæ Mariæ Magdalenæ,—qui, a fundatione ecclesiæ cathedralis, in occidentali parte ejusdem ecclesiæ divina audierant, et sacramenta et sacramentalia perceperant, prout in principio hujus tractatus plenius memoratur,—quandam capellam in honore beatæ Mariæ Magdalenæ, in atrio dictæ ecclesiæ cathedralis, competenti spatio distantem ab ea, erigi procuravit. Et de consensu capituli sui, et parochianorum prædictorum, statuit ut in eadem capella idem parochiani audirent divina, sacramenta et sacramentalia perciperent; præter baptisma parvulorum, quos in fonte cathedralis ecclesiæ fore censuit baptizandos, et sepulturam parochianorum morientium, quos in cimiterio dictæ ecclesiæ cathedralis voluit sepeliri. Jure matricis ecclesiæ in aliis per omnia semper salvo. Removal of the church of St. Mary Magdalen from the nave of the cathedral. *Supra*, 194.

Hic claustrum ecclesiæ[3] fieri procuravit. Et de suo quinquaginta marcas contulit ad constructionem ejusdem. Building of the cloister.

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[1] Viz. by pope Nicholas IV. A contemporary and valuable copy of this Taxation of 1291 is in the Record room of the dean and chapter of Lincoln.

[2] The means for this addition to the commons of the canons had been provided by his predecessor, Richard de Gravesend. See Appendix II. *infra*.

[3] The south side of the cloisters was far advanced by July 1296. In

Wall built round the precincts.

Hic a rege Edwardo, Henrici regis tertii filio, impetravit, ut circuitus ædificiorum circa ecclesiam constructorum muro certæ altitudinis, cum venellis intermediis, clauderetur;[1] pro securitate canonicorum et aliorum ministrorum dictæ ecclesiæ, qui pro matutinis dicendis nocte media eandem ecclesiam tunc temporis adierunt.

The author Sutton's Registrar.

Et hæc omnia novi qui ea de ipso scripsi, quoniam in domo ipsius fui per annos octodecim registrator.[2]

Late in Sutton's episcopate the Vicar's

Subsequenter idem pater, post completam clausuram per portas circa ecclesiam antedictas, multum honori Dei et ecclesiæ, cum salute animarum, congruere suasit

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a letter addressed, the 23rd of that month, to Philip the dean, bishop Oliver says,—" Ad decorem ecclesiæ " nostræ confratres vestri quoddam " claustrum in area ante capitulum " ejusdem ecclesiæ, nobis ad hoc " dantibus occasionem, decenter " metantes, murum ejusdem ex " parte australi jam laudabiliter " erexerunt in altum. Sane situs " loci, et dispositio fundamenti hu- " jusmodi fabricæ, necessario exi- " gunt, ut prætendunt, quod alter " paries correspondens super murum " stabuli vestri ex parte boreali, " super solum ecclesiæ constructum, " ut dicitur, sine vestro dispendio " construatur, domo ipsa sicut prius " salva manente ; et super hoc ut " consensum præstetis, sicut intel- " leximus, capitulum specialiter " vobis scribit." And he strongly urges the dean to give his consent to this. *Sutton's Memorandums* (MS. Linc.) f. 154 b.

[1] Edward I.'s Letters Patent, authorizing this enclosure of the precinct, are dated May 8, 1285. There is a copy of them in the *Registrum Magnum* (MS. Linc.) f. 12. This enclosure was completed under bishop Oliver, as stated above directly afterwards. Letters Patent of Edward II., February 24, 1316, recite and confirm his father's Letters Patent, and moreover authorize the additional enclosure and kernellation of a certain lane and gardens adjoining the precinct between Eastgate and Pottergate. The original of these is extant at Lincoln. According to Tanner, other Letters Patent, " de præcinctu " ecclesiæ muro claudendo," were issued about three years afterwards (Pat. 12 Edw. II., p. 2, m. 6). It was years after this before this new enclosure was completed. In the Chapter Acts (MS. Linc.), under June 12, 1326, it is stated that the chapter was borrowing 20*l.* of Thos. de Luda, the treasurer, " in subsi- " dium operis fabricæ clausi nostri."

[2] In Hutton's extracts is here added ;—" Magister Walterus de " Fodringheie collatus ad custodiam " altaris beati Petri in ecclesia, et " officium pro animabus episcopo- " rum defunctorum, 4 Id. Januarii " 1290: f. 7."

decano et capitulo, inter alias visitationis suæ correctionum injunctiones, quod ad hoc tenderent viis quibus honeste fieri posset, ut area vicariorum ædificaretur, et simul commanerent infra clausum suum: supponens quod pro majori parte inter eos occasio sit malorum omnis sollicitudo.[1] Unde prædicti decanus et capitulum, sibi in hoc adquiescentes, approbante patre prædicto, et de suo ad initiandum opus promittente, statuerunt et decreverunt quod omnes vicarii sic in simul commanerent, quamprimum ad hoc area sua juxta mansum episcopi competenter fuerit ædificata. Circa quod se cogitare cum effectu promiserunt, et facere per Dei gratiam consummari tempore opportuno. Et quod tunc fuit condictum executores dicti episcopi opere compleverunt, ædificando aulam[2] et coquinam, ac cameras aliquas, in quibus vicarii, licet non omnes,[3] possent in simul commanere.

court commenced; at his instigation, and with his aid.

This completed, in great part, by his executors.

Hic in senectute magna et bona constitutus, die sancti Bricii, anno Domini MCCXCIX., ea hora qua

His death, Nov. 13, 1299.

[1] "Solitudo," perhaps, is what Schalby wrote.

[2] The vicars' hall was not completed before 1309. On Saturday after St. Lucy, 19 kal. January (December 14), 1308, the chapter agreed, "quod x. libræ sterlingo-" "rum, de pecunia feretri beati" "Roberti, per custodes ejusdem" "vicariis de choro mutuarentur pro" "quinque annos, ... pro comple-" "tione aulæ eorundem, seu voltæ" "ejusdem. Ita quod dicti vicarii" ". . . . quolibet anno quadraginta" "solidos fideliter solvant, donec" "dictæ decem libræ plenarie per-" "solvantur" (*Chapter Acts*, MS. Lincoln). The "feretri" of this entry must have been a blunder of the chapter-clerk for "tumbæ," or "Roberti" a blunder for "Hugonis." It was only a canonized saint who was translated from his tomb into a shrine.

[3] It was only the priest-vicars, for whom accommodation was provided at first in the vicars' court. The vicars of the second form, not priests, were not lodged in the court until 1328, or somewhat still later. On 2 Id. April (April 12), 1328, the chapter "concesserunt vicariis" "de secunda forma, non presbiteris," "placeam quandam infra clausum" "vicariorum presbiterorum in com-" "muni commorantium, in qua in-" "habitare possunt, et domos prout" "expedire viderint de novo ædifi-" "care; ut omnes vicarii prædicti sub" "una clausura maneant, juxta ordi-" "nationem bonæ memoriæ Oliveri" "Lincolniensis episcopi, et capituli" "ejusdem communiæ, antiquitus" "ordinatam" (Chapter Acts).

matutinæ de sancto Bricio coram eo a suis presbiteris et clericis dicebantur, et inter ultima scilicet verba versus,

" Iste confessor Domini sacratus,
" Festa plebs cujus celebrat per orbem,
" Hodie lætus meruit secreta
" Scandere cœli,"

Testimony of his confessor.

spiritum reddidit Creatori. De istius viri conditionibus post ejus obitum tractavi cum confessore ejusdem, qui mihi respondit per hæc verba,—" Non possum negare " quin justissimus, constantissimus, et mundissimus " homo fuit."

John de Dalderby, bishop; elected Jan. 15, 1300; consecrated June 12.

Mortuo Olivero prædicto, magister Johannes de Dalderby, ecclesiæ de Lincolnia cancellarius, in episcopum xviii. Kal. Februarii, anno quo dictus Oliverus obiit, per viam scrutinii est electus; et ii. Id. Junii proxime sequentis, per Robertum de Winchelsea Cantuariensem archiepiscopum, apud Cantuariam consecratus. Qui profitebatur sub his verbis,—" In Dei " nomine, Amen. Ego Johannes, Lincolniensis ecclesiæ " electus, et a te, venerande pater, domino R. Cantu- " ariensi archiepiscopo, totius Angliæ primate, conse- " crandus antistes, tibi et sanctæ Cantuariensi ecclesiæ " metropolitanæ, et successoribus tuis in dicta ecclesia " Cantuariensi canonice substituendis, debitam et cano- " nicam obedientiam, reverentiam, et submissionem, " me per omnia exhibiturum profiteor et promitto, " secundum statuta Romanorum pontificum et tuorum " jurium. Prædictæ Cantuariensi ecclesiæ adjutor ero " ad defendendum et retinendum, salvo meo ordine. " Sic me Deus adjuvet, et sancta Dei evangelia. Et " omnia scribenda propria manu confirmo."

His profession to archbishop of Canterbury.

His learning, eloquence, bounty, piety, &c.

Iste Johannes gemma fulsit scientia, utpote qui in artibus et theologia rexerat eleganter. Hic fuit vir facundus, contemplativus, piissimus; verbi Dei prædi-

cator egregius; non avarus; velut alter Nicholaus se amabilem clericis præbens; largus, munificus; et sicut alter Joseph, in cunctis prospere satis agens. Hic ecclesiæ Lincolniensi tres ecclesias parochiales univit. Quarum duabus, scilicet Normanby et Russenden, percipiunt vicarii communiter habitantes certam pecuniam annuatim; viz. de ecclesia de Normanby quinque marcas, et de ecclesia de Russenden . . . marcas. Et eisdem vicariis communiter habitantibus, ad sustentationem domorum, sumptibus proximi prædecessoris sui pro habitatione vicariorum constructarum, pensionem quatuor librarum sterlingorum, de vicariis duarum ecclesiarum Hospitalariis appropriatarum, contulit annuatim. Hic et pensiones annuas duarum marcarum, duobus a monasteriis de ordine Premonstratensium, pauperibus clericis adquisivit. Hic insuper patronatum ecclesiæ de Ferriby medietatis, ac ecclesiæ de . . . . in sua diocesi, sibi et suis successoribus adquivisit.

His benefactions.

Normanby, Linc., and Rushden, Herts.

Pensions to the vicars.

Ferriby, Linc.

Hic ecclesiam Omnium Sanctorum, in ballio Lincolniensi, ecclesiæ beatæ Mariæ Magdalenæ in eodem constructæ, cui est quasi contigua, univit.[1] Jurisdictionem spiritualem, qua solebant quique cancellarii dictæ ecclesiæ Lincolniensis uti in parochia prædicta, sicut rectores dictæ ecclesiæ superiores immediati, extunc totaliter transtulit in decanum et capitulum, qui supra rectorem ecclesiæ beatæ Mariæ Magdalenæ noscuntur jurisdictionem consimilem optinere. Jus tamen dominii, et jurisdictionem temporalem, super olim tenentibus dictæ ecclesiæ Omnium Sanctorum, ad cancellarium dictæ ecclesiæ Lincolniensis pertinentibus ab antiquo,

United the church of All Saints to that of St. Mary Magdalen;

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[1] Hutton, omitting what follows about the church of All Saints, here gives a large number of extracts, of which there is nothing in Brown Willis or Sympson. These have scarcely any relation to Dalderby or other bishops of Lincoln. I therefore do not include them in this Appendix, though no doubt they formed part of Schalby's treatise. They are well worth the attention of any investigator of Lincoln history.

ac jus præsentandi ad dictam ecclesiam beatæ Mariæ Magdalenæ cum vacaverit tertia vice, cancellario dictæ ecclesiæ Lincolniensis prædicto et suis successoribus, in recompensationem juris patronatus quod quondam habuit in dicta ecclesia Omnium Sanctorum, imperpetuum reservavit. Concessit etiam decano et capitulo, disponendi de dicta ecclesia Omnium Sanctorum et ipsius cimiterio, infra clausum dictæ ecclesiæ Lincolniensis existentibus, prout honori divino et dictæ ecclesiæ congrue viderint, liberam facultatem. Datum apud Parcum Stowe, v. id. Januarii, anno Domini MCCCXVII.

Jan. 9, 1318.

His death, Jan. 12, 1320.

Miracles.

The author a member of his household.

Hic ii. Idus[1] Januarii, anno Domini MCCCXIX., vita functus, cœlestia sicut pie creditur adeptus. Nam post ipsius obitum miracula manifesta ob ejus merita dignatus est Altissimus operari. Huic viro Dei, dum vitales carperet auras, ille qui hæc scripsit per octo annos in statu non infimo deservivit, et conditiones ejus sanctissimas bene novit.

Anthony Beek elected, Feb. 3, 1320;

Anno autem quo dictus episcopus Johannes obiit, iii. non. Februarii, electus fuit in episcopum magister Antonius Bek, ecclesiæ Lincolniensis cancellarius,[2] per

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[1] The 15th century brief and often incorrect history of the bishops of Lincoln (Cotton MS., Titus A. xix., f. 4, &c.) says that he died at Stowe Park on the vigil of the Epiphany, January 5. This is the day given by Godwin, and in the *Episc Succ.* of Professor Stubbs. The "ii. Idus" (January 12) of the text is the reading of both Sympson's and Hutton's extracts from Schalby (the passage is not at all in Brown Willis), and is probably the day as written by Schalby himself. If so, it is almost certainly the true day.

[2] Anthony Beek was collated to the chancellorship of Lincoln, September 4, 1316; was made dean in 1329; and was consecrated bishop of Norwich on Midlent Sunday, March 30, 1337. He was one of three sons of Walter Beek of Luceby, constable of Lincoln castle. These were John, born August 18, 1278, who became constable of Bristol and Lincoln; Anthony, born August 4, 1279; and Thomas, born February 22, 1283, bishop of Lincoln 1342–1347 (Harleian MS. 3720, f. 22). They were kinsmen, but distant ones it would seem, of Thomas Beek, bishop of St. David's 1280–1293, and his brother An-

viam scrutinii; Henrico de Maunesfeld, decano Lincolniensi,[1] antea in episcopum electo, sed electioni de se factæ non consentiente. Sed dominus papa Johannes XXII., prætendens se episcopatum Lincolniensem suæ collationi reservasse, contulit illum magistro Henrico de Borowasch, natione Anglico; qui in partibus transmarinis authoritate papæ munus consecrationis accepit.[2] Pro cujus admissione in episcopatum dominus papa scripsit capitulo Lincolniensi sub hac forma.[3]

but refused by the pope, who collates Henry de Burghersh instead.

Hic a rege Edwardo, Edwardi regis filio, circa initium assumptionis suæ ad episcopalem dignitatem, licet ad instantiam dicti regis fuisset assumptus, plurimas fuit voluntarias persecutiones perpessus, quas cum patientia sustinuit commendanda.

Royal persecutions.

Hoc tempore, scilicet ii. Kal. Aprilis, anno Domini MCCCXXIV., magister Thomas de Luda, thesaurarius ecclesiæ cathedralis Lincolniensis,[4] conspiciens et perpendens dictam ecclesiam Lincolniensem horologio competenti, et pro ipsa ecclesia necessario, destitui et carere, de sua gratia liberali et liberalitate gratuita, quoddam horologium novum in dicta ecclesia suis sumptibus se promisit facere construi, in honore glo-

Gift of a new clock, by Thomas de Louth, treasurer of Lincoln.

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thony, bishop of Durham 1284–1311.

I spell the name "Beek," because this is the contemporary spelling in the Harleian MS., as written probably by a member of the family. In the will of Thomas, bishop of Lincoln 1342–1347, the spelling is "Beeke."

[1] Henry de Mansfield was confirmed dean by the bishop December 15, 1315. His will was proved December 6, 1328.

[2] He was consecrated at Boulogne, July 20, 1320.

[3] The "sub hac forma" shows that the papal letter was added by Schalby. It is given, however, by none of his extractors.

[4] This account of the gift of a clock by Thos. de Luda is taken, all but word for word, from the entry in the Register of the dean and chapter, but with omissions. One thing omitted by Schalby is worth noticing; viz., the statement that a clock was now an universal thing almost in cathedral and conventual churches,—"Quod ecclesiæ "aliæ cathedrales et conventuales "ubique fere terrarum regulariter "optinere noscuntur" (*Chapter Acts*, March 31, 1324).

riosæ Virginis, ipsius ecclesiæ dominæ et patronæ. Sub hac tamen protestatione, quod factum suum sibi, vel successoribus thesaurariis Lincolniensibus, non trahatur ad exemplum in futurum. Præsentibus dominis et magistris, Henrico decano, Antonio Bek cancellario, Petro subdecano, Willelmo de Okham, Thoma de Corbrugg, Johanne de Sutton, Johanne de Schalby, Egidio de Redmer, et Ricardo de Stratton.

Bishop Henry de Burghersh procures extended rights of sanctuary.

Hic etiam Henricus episcopus a rege Edwardo tertio a conquæstu, cujus fuit cancellarius, impetravit ut in palatio ejusdem episcopi Lincolniensis, vel in domibus canonicorum circa ecclesiam Lincolniensem infra clausuram ejusdem constructis, vel in cimiterio ejusdem ecclesiæ usque ad easdem domos protendente, existentes, vel confugientes ad ea, gauderent immunitate qua gavisuri essent intra eandem ecclesiam existentes. Prout in cartis regiis super hoc concessis, et in archivis dictæ ecclesiæ existentibus, plenius continetur.

APPENDIX F.

Indulgences by Hugh and others, to contributors to Lincoln Cathedral. And Translation of St. Hugh, Oct. 6, 1280.

I.

Sanctus Hugo episcopus dedit omnibus contritis, confessis, et vere penitentibus, de injuncta sibi penitentia, qui elemosinam dederint operi ecclesiæ beatæ Mariæ Lincolniensis, quater viginti dies indulgentiæ; et spiritualiter esse participes omnium bonorum qui fiunt in ecclesia beatæ Mariæ de Lincolnia, et per totum episcopatum, tam in domibus religiosis quam in ecclesiis parochialibus, scilicet in missis, elemosinis, jejuniis, orationibus, et in aliis bonis spiritualibus. Item Walterus[1] episcopus Lincolniensis, bonæ memoriæ, xl. dies; et constituit celebrari in eadem ecclesia qualibet septimana, pro fratribus et sororibus, vivis et defunctis, hujus fraternitatis, xxxiii. missas. Præterea in domibus religiosis per episcopatum constitutis, conceduntur

Indulgences of St. Hugh.

Of bishop Walter (? William).

Of religious houses, &c.

[1] *Walterus*] This, if the right reading, must be Walter de Coutances, Hugh's predecessor, the only Walter that was ever bishop of Lincoln. If so, in all likelihood he would be archbishop of Rouen, and not bishop of Lincoln, when he granted this indulgence. According to what is here said, he seems to have been the original founder of the Works Chantry, for the souls of benefactors to the fabric. I have a strong suspicion that "Walterus" is a blunder of the scribe, and that it ought to be Willelmus, viz. William de Blois, Hugh's successor, 1203-1206. Compare the latter part of ii. *infra*, 219, l. 8, &c.

celebrari annuatim, pro dictis fratribus et sororibus, iiii^xx^. M. missæ cccc. Item a viris religiosis qui non sunt sacerdotes, et a feminis religiosis, conceduntur dici psalteria iiii^xx^. M. D. et quinquaginta. Præterea Nicholaus,[1] episcopus Romæ cardinalis, de injuncta penitentia xl. dies indulsit; Hubertus,[2] Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, xl. dies; Hugo,[3] Eliensis episcopus, xxx. dies; episcopus Roffensis xxx. dies; episcopus Cestrensis xxx. dies. Summa dierum veniæ xxvii ann' et ccc. dies et xvii. Summa missarum iiii^xx^. M^e^. cccc. et xxxiii. Summa psalteriorum iiii^xx^. M^e^. et l^ta^. Summa Pat' Nr' et Ave Mar', nemo scit nisi solus Deus.

Of cardinal Nicholas, archbishop Hubert, bishop Hugh of Ely, &c.

Sum of the whole.

II.

Indulgences of the cardinal, the archbishop,

Hæc sunt beneficia ecclesiæ Lincolniensis: scilicet a domino cardinali xl. dies; ab archiepiscopo xl. dies; a domino Hugone prædecessore[4] nostro xx. dies. Nec-

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[1] *Nicholaus*] Nicholas, bishop of Tusculum and cardinal, papal legate in England in 1213.

[2] *Hubertus*] Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, 1193–1205.

[3] *Hugo*] Probably Hugh Norwold, bishop of Ely 1229–1254. There was no earlier Hugh of Ely. There was however a later one, 1257–1286, who possibly may be the bishop here meant.

[4] *prædecessore*] This therefore must have been a memorandum of William de Blois, St. Hugh's successor, or of Grostête, Hugh de Wells' successor. It seems to me pretty clear that it belongs to the latter. The indulgences attributed to the predecessor Hugh do not agree with those attributed to St. Hugh in i. *supra*. For instance especially, the twenty days here, instead of the forty as in i. Forty was generally the number of days in a bishop's indulgence, and Hugh de Wells seems to have been peculiar in confining himself to twenty. His Roll gives many instances of this: October 2, 1224, he grants an indulgence of twenty days to contributors to Salisbury cathedral; February 14, 1232, one of twenty days for All Saints, Northampton; August 9, 1232, one of twenty days again for St. Mary of Keten (Ketton, Rutland): I have never met with an indulgence of his for more than twenty days. Moreover, the forty days of the lord cardinal,—if, as in all likelihood, he be the Nicholas bishop of Tusculum of i.,—would place this memorandum years after Wm. de Blois' episcopate: and the way in which Wm. de Blois' indulgences are recorded seems to point clearly to another

non medietatem peccatorum venialium, et omnia peccata oblivioni tradita; et esse participes omnium beneficiorum quæ fiunt in eadem Lincolniensi ecclesia, et per totum episcopatum, tam in jejuniis quam in orationibus et elemosinis, inperpetuum, concessit et indulsit. and bishop Hugh.

Hæc sunt suffragia virorum religiosorum: iiii^{xx}. milia missæ, et xl. M., et xvi. M., et ccc., et xxx. psalteria. Et a domino Willelmo Lincolniensi episcopo l.[1] dies: et in ecclesia Lincolniensi, qualibet septimana xxxiii. missæ, tam pro vivis quam pro defunctis. Suffrages of the religious. Indulgence of bishop William.

III.

Translation of S. Hugh, A.D. 1280.

Memorandum quod magister Thomas Beek, Menevensis episcopus, consecratus fuit apud Lincolniam in octavis beati Michaelis,[2] anno regni regis Edwardi filii Thomas Beek, bishop of St. David's, conse-

pen than his own. This memorandum, it is perhaps worth remarking, occurs in a manuscript (Bib. Reg. 7 A. ix. of British Museum) in near position with a sermon of bishop Grostête, and, I think I am right in saying, in the same hand as the sermon.

[1] This l. is probably a scribal blunder for xl., the ordinary number of days of a bishop's indulgence.

[2] *octavis B. Michaelis*] *i.e.* October 6, 1280. All contemporary writers agree as to this day and year, though they vary in the way of describing the day. It is "Prid. "Non," or "dies S. Fidis," generally. A note to the Carthusian chronicle of Dorlandus, I suppose by Theodore Petreius, his 1608 Cologne editor, says that this was also the day sacred to St. Bruno, the founder of the Carthusian order; and for this reason, perhaps, it may have been fixed upon for Hugh the Carthusian's translation.

Modern Lincoln authorities have given 1282 as the year of Hugh's translation. This mistake originated, probably, from some such entry as this, "Anno Domini "MCCLXXX. ii°. Non' Octobris . . . "est translatus" (MS. Cotton, Titus A. xix.); the ii°. being supposed to belong to the 1280 before, instead of to the Non' October after it. There is no possible doubt about the right year. For instance, it is as certain as any historical fact can be, that Edward I. was present: it is equally certain that he was at Lincoln on Sunday October 6, 1280, and that he was in Wales on this day in 1282 (MS. Itinerary of Edward I., by Mr. Stevenson).

crated at Lincoln, Oct. 6, 1280; the day of St. Hugh's translation. The king present, &c., &c.

regis Henrici octavo. Et eodem die translatus fuit beatus Hugo, quondam Lincolniensis episcopus, sumptibus[1] dicti magistri Thomæ. Interfuerunt eidem translationi et consecrationi dominus Edwardus rex Angliæ et regina, similiter et dominus Edmundus frater dicti domini regis, et regina Naverñ uxor ejus, comes Gloverniæ, comes Lincolniæ et comitissa, similiter comes de Warwyke. Et fuerunt ibidem archiepiscopus Cantuariensis, archiepiscopus Ragensis,[2] episcopus Lincolniensis, episcopus Batoniensis, episcopus Elyensis, episcopus Norwicensis, episcopus Wyrcestrensis, episcopus Landavensis, episcopus Asavensis, episcopus Bangorensis, et electus Excestrensis. Et fuerunt ibidem cc. et xxx. milites. Et fuerunt ibidem duo conductus vini, extra portam occidentalem manerii episcopi Lincolniensis, in quibus currebant sex dolia vini; et sumebant ex eodem vino tam quam[3] pauperes pro voluntate sua; et cu-

Conduits running with wine.

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[1] His older and more famous brother Anthony was in like manner bountiful, in the case of the translation of St. William of York, and his own consecration to Durham, January 9, 1284. Thomas Stubbs tells us (1727, Twysden),—"Gloriosi Willielmi confessoris "translationem nobilis vir Antonius "de Bek, electus ad regimen epi-"scopatus Dunelmensis, cum esset "ejus electio confirmata, diligenter "procuravit, et omnes expensas "impendit; sicut magister Thomas, "frater ejus, circa translationem "sancti Hugonis episcopi Lincol-"niensis prius fecerat."

Other writers mention the fact of Thomas Beek paying the cost of Hugh's translation; for instance, the manuscript chronicle of St. Mary's York (Bodley 39, f. 132 b), and the Spalding Chronicle (*Chron. Angl. Petriburg.* Giles, 153).

[2] *Ragensis*] According to Professor Stubbs (Gentleman's Magazine, February 1861, p. 183), who produces many notices of this prelate's abode in England, he was archbishop of Edessa, which was then considered as identical with Rages in Media. It is a curious coincidence that a "Raguensis" archbishop (Hoveden, 361 b, Savile) should have been present at Hugh's burial in 1200, and a "Ra-"gensis" archbishop at his translation in 1280. Were they not both certain historical persons, in their distinct times, we might have supposed that this historian of Hugh's translation was translating to it, by some blunder, an archbishop that was present at his burial instead.

[3] *tam quam*] So the MS. There is something like sense in "tanquam "pauperes;" but perhaps "divites" is by mistake omitted after "tam."

currerunt eodem die ab hora nona usque ad ignitegium pulsatum.

[*The above is a contemporary account of the translation, probably written by some member or retainer of the Beek family, who was himself present. It is of course far too simple, and free from the marvellous, for biographers of Hugh in later times. The Peterborough Chronicle of the Camden Society* (*p.* 40.), *written probably not later than* 1295, *after briefly, but correctly, narrating the circumstances of Hugh's translation, then adds,*—In cujus sepulcro inventa est olei quantitas non modica, et per ipsius merita plurima ibidem fiunt miracula. *Later writers improve upon this, as in the Life printed in Surius, and in that of Dorlandus.*[1] *The accounts of the translation in these have much agreement, and were evidently derived from some common source now unknown: they contain curious and no doubt authentic notices of the new shrine of Hugh's body, and of the separate enshrinement of his head. That of the life in Surius is as follows, from the Venice edition,* 1581, *tom. vi.*]

Anno Christi millesimo ducentesimo octogesimo, qui fuit a beati viri obitu fere octogesimus sextus,[2] Octobris sexto die, sacrum corpus ejus elevatum atque translatum est, cum jam ante ab Honorio III. pontifice maximo in sanctos relatus esset. In hac autem elevatione quasi integrum repertum est corpus ejus.[3]

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[1] See Preface to *Mag. Vit. S. Hugonis,* xiv., &c.

[2] *sextus*] This blunder is also in Dorlandus. It arose probably from some confusion, in the scribe of their common source, with the *sixth* day of October immediately following.

[3] Dorlandus adds that, before opening the tomb, all had purged themselves with fastings, confessions, &c., that so they might be fit for the contact of Hugh's sacred body. He adds also that, on the opening, an "odor suave fragrans" burst forth, and pervaded the whole church.

These writers speak as if this was the first removal of Hugh's body from the tomb in which he was buried; but there is no hint to this effect in the contemporary account of (iii.) *supra.* There must, one would think, have been an earlier removal and enshrinement, after his canonization in 1220. His translation was ordered at that time by pope Honorius, in the same series of bulls that announce his canonization (Appendix I. *infra*; second and third of the bulls at the end); but I know of no actual evidence that this order was carried into effect, either then, or at any other time before 1280. The chapel of St. John Baptist, however, in which he was buried (*Mag. Vit.* 340, 377), the northernmost of the two chapels on the east side of the north transept of the choir, was largely en-

Loculus vero, in quo illud repositum fuerat, magnam purissimi olei copiam exhibuit. Habitus quoque monasticus,[1] quo vir sanctissimus dum viveret usus erat, et in quo post obitum sepulturæ mandatus fuerat, integer inventus est. Cumque sanctissimum ejus caput,—quod, a corpore separatum, postea auro, argento, et gemmis inclusum est,—Oliverus Lincolniensis episcopus in manibus reverenter teneret, ex ejus maxilla non parum olei distillavit. Tandem sacrum corpus in theca, auro, argento, et preciosis lapidibus ornata, reconditum est; ipsaque theca, loco congruo satisque sublimi e marmore structo, honorifice collocata est; non longe a sanctissimo ejus capite, quod juxta altare beatissimi Johannis Baptistæ in Lincolniensi ecclesia reposuerunt.[2] Huic vero translationi, præter regem et reginam Angliæ, itemque Navarræ, multosque regni proceres laicos, etiam duo archiepiscopi, multi episcopi, abbates plurimi, compluresque alii interfuerunt. Indictumque est, ut ejus translationis annua celebritas deinceps tota diocesi Lincolniensi haberetur.

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larged from its original form as left by Hugh, somewhere in the thirteenth century, as shown in Hollar's plate in Dugdale; and we may well suppose that this was done upon, or soon after, his canonization, in order to meet the necessity of larger space for the shrine of the new saint and his devotees. This chapel was unhappily restored to its original form, by Mr. Essex, somewhere about a hundred years ago.

[1] *monasticus*] This is wrong. He was buried in the episcopal vestments in which he had been consecrated (*Mag. Vit.* 339, 373.)

[2] *reposuerunt*] The *re* of this verb indicates that, in placing his head in the chapel of St. John Baptist, they restored it to the place that his whole body had until now occupied.

We learn from Knyghton that in 1363 or 4, at which time many like robberies were committed, the head of St. Hugh was stolen, for the sake of the silver and gold and precious stones about it. The head was found deposited in a field, a raven marvellously guarding it. The robbers were convicted and hung (Twysden, 2628). See also Rymer (February 10, 1364; from Pat. 38 Edward III., p. 1, m. 39). John de Welbourn, treasurer of Lincoln at this time, amongst other large benefactions, " post furacionem et " spoliacionem capitis sancti Hu- " gonis, de novo fecit cum auro et " argento et lapidibus preciosis or- " nari et reparari " (Welbourn MS. of dean and chapter, f. 79).

APPENDIX G.

Will of Bishop Hugh de Wells.

In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti, Amen. Ego Hugo, Dei gratia Lincolniensis ecclesiæ qualiscunque minister, condo testamentum meum in hunc modum. Lego et concedo domino Bathoniensi episcopo [1] fratri meo, et cui assignaverit, custodiam meam de Tunring [2] cum omnibus pertinentiis suis, habendam et tenendam libere et quiete donec heres ad legitimam pervenerit ætatem, convertendo per manus ipsius domini episcopi vel assignatorum suorum quicquid inde ceperint in usus et emendationem hospitalis [3] Wellensis; una cum ducentis marcis quas eidem domino episcopo pridem pacavi ad opus hospitalis supradicti. Do insuper eidem domino episcopo, et cui assignaverit, custodiam terræ et heredum de Crombwell,[4] quæ est de feodo meo, et maritagia eorundem heredum ubi non disparagentur; volens et ordinans quod prædictus dominus episcopus, vel assignati sui, de exitibus ejusdem

Legacies to his brother, the bishop of Bath;

to the use of the hospital of Wells.

[1] Joceline de Wells, bishop of Bath and Wells, 1206-1242.

[2] I cannot identify this place. The only name of a place at all near it, that I know of, is Thurning, Hunts.

[3] The hospital of St. John Baptist at Wells was founded by Hugh de Wells *temp.* John; in 1206, according to Collinson's Somerset (iii. 408), for a prior or master and ten brethren.

[4] Cromwell is in Notts, a few miles north of Newark. I suppose the land was of the bishop's fee, as being in the wapentake of Newark.

manerii faciat usque ad ætatem heredum ad opus hospitalis Wellensis, et sustentationem ipsius, pro salute animæ meæ, et pro animabus patris et matris meæ, et omnium antecessorum et heredum meorum, et pro anima Jordani de Turri,[1] sicut ordinavi de custodia mea de Tunring faciendum. Præterea do eidem hospitali, et fratribus ibidem Deo servientibus et servituris imperpetuum, totam terram meam de Derneford,[2] quam dedi cum Agatha nepte mea in maritagium, nisi de corpore suo heredem habuerit cui terra deberet remanere. Item concedo et assigno Radulpho de Waraville et Ricardo de Oxonia, canonicis Lincoln, tanquam attornatis Galfridi filii Bald' et Petri de Bathonia, qui in principio firmæ suæ ita mihi concesserunt, totam terram de Orresby[3] cum omnibus pertinentiis suis,—quam Ingerardus de Bovinton et Johanna uxor sua dimiserunt prædictis Galfrido et Petro usque ad terminum in cirographo contentum facto in curia domini regis,—ut ipsi Radulphus et Ricardus, vel unus eorum si uterque vacare non poterit, vel cui vel quibus assignaverint, teneant eam in manu sua per totum terminum, et omnes fructus et exitus ex ea provenientes distribuant singulis annis pauperibus domibus religiosis episcopatus mei, et aliis pauperibus, pro anima mea. Item lego priori de Kaldewell[4] i. marcam, priori de Noketon[5] i. marcam, priori de Kima[6] i. marcam, abbati

Legacy to the same hospital.

Legacy to poor religious houses, &c., of his diocese.

Legacies to various priors and abbots.

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[1] Jordan de Turre was a fellow-officer of the Curia regis with Hugh de Wells. Perhaps there was some nearer connection between them, as he seems to have left property to Hugh. In 6th John, after Jordan's death, certain houses he held in London were ordered to be given to Hugh de Wells (*Rot. Claus.*, i. 18, 35); Foss's Judges, ii. 122.

He is mentioned in the *Mag. Vit. S. Hugonis* (299, &c.), as a powerful Londoner, who was unjustly detaining property of two orphan children, and was induced by Hugh's agency to make restitution.

[2] I cannot identify this place. There is a Durnford in Wiltshire.

[3] Orresby is now Owersby, Linc., near Market Rasen.

[4] Caldwell, Austin priory, Bedfordshire.

[5] Nocton, Austin priory, Linc.

[6] Kyme, Austin priory, Linc.

de Brunna [1] ii. marcas, priori Ellesham [2] ii. marcas, abbati de Humberstain [3] i. marcam, priori de Markeby [4] i. marcam, priori de Tornholm [5] ii. marcas, abbati de Tuppeholm [6] i. marcam, abbati de Messenden [7] xl^s., abbati de Barling [8] xx^s., priori de Torkesey [9] i. marcam, abbati de Osulveston [10] xx^s., priori de Landa [11] i. marcam, abbati de Nuteley [12] xl^s., priori de Bradewell [13] i. marcam, priori de Dunstapll' [14] xl^s., priori Sancti Neoti [15] xl^s., et priori Huntedon [16] xl^s. Item lego Johanni de Camera x. marcas, Petro de Cotinton x. marcas, magistro Hugoni coco x. marcas, Rogero mareschallo x. marcas, Willelmo servienti de Bugeden c^s., Willelmo Lupo x. marcas, Willelmo servienti Leycestre c^s., Willelmo de Tunring ii. marcas, Willelmo de Wodeford ii. marcas, Johanni servienti de Esfordeby iii. marcas, Reginaldo de Treilly v. marcas, Eliæ Kotele v. marcas, Ricardo de Ispania ii. marcas et dimidium, Rogero filio Willelmi x. marcas, Thomæ marescallo v. marcas, Henrico Cauchais de Tingehurst v. marcas, Gilberto de Camera ii. marcas, Waltero ostiario i. marcam, Johanni de capella xx^s., Bufeto nuncio iiii. marcas, Hankino de pistrino i. marcam, Johanne de curru xx^s., Pagano i. marcam, Galfredo Rom̄ i. marcam, Thomæ carectario i. marcam, Reginaldo carectario i. marcam, Roberto clerico custodi domorum Lincolniensium xl^s., Odino de Bugeden xl^s.,

Legacies to his servants.

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[1] Bourne, Austin abbey, Linc.

[2] Ellesham, or Ailsham, Austin priory, Linc.

[3] Humberston, Benedictine abbey, Linc.

[4] Markby, Austin priory, Linc.

[5] Thornholm, Austin priory, Linc.

[6] Tupholm, Premonstratensian abbey, Linc.

[7] Missenden, Austin abbey, Bucks.

[8] Barlings, Premonstratensian abbey, Linc.

[9] Torksey, Austin priory, Linc.

[10] Osulveston, or Owston, Austin priory, Leic.

[11] Laund, Austin priory, Leic.

[12] Nutley, Austin abbey, Bucks.

[13] Bradwell, Benedictine priory, Bucks.

[14] Dunstable, Austin priory, Beds.

[15] St. Neots, Benedictine priory, Hunts.

[16] Huntingdon, Austin priory.

Roberto de Well' coco decani Lincolniensis xx^{s}., filio magistri Waleis ii. marcas. Volo insuper quod per executores meos detur de bonis meis, servientibus, nunciis, et garcionibus meis, et aliis quibus non lego, vel quibus minus lego, prout viderint expedire. Item lego canonico prebendæ Leycestre, ad edificia sibi construenda in prebenda sua, xl. marcas, nisi interim fecero grantum suum. Item lego pauperibus parentibus meis apud Well' et circa Pilton[1] lx. marcas, ubi dominus frater meus et alii executores mei viderint expedire. Item lego fabricæ ecclesiæ meæ Lincolniensis c. marcas, et totum mairemium quod habuero in decessu meo per totum episcopatum meum, ita quod reservetur usque in tempus successoris mei, et detur ei pro l. marcis si voluerit, pacandis eidem fabricæ antequam illud recipiat. Item lego successori meo xxvi. carucatas boum, et domino Cantuariensi et singulis episcopis provinciæ suæ in Anglia unum annulum. Item lego ad exequias meas faciendas, et ad emenda ea quæ necessaria fuerint altari quod est juxta sepulturam meam, c. marcas; et ad inveniendas necessarias expensas executoribus meis, qui prosequentur executionem testamenti mei, lx. marcas, ut quod inde residuum fuerit cedat testamento meo. Prædicto vero altari meo lego totam capellam, excepto parvo missali, quod vendatur et distribuatur pauperibus pro anima Rogeri de Bristollia quondam canonici Lincolniensis. Ordino insuper quod centum duodecim libræ, quas recepi a Willelmo decano Lincolniensi, depositas in custodia sua, et mutuo datas Nicholao abbati et conventui Einesham super cartas suas quas penes me habeo, reddantur ipsi decano vel cui assignaverit, ad faciendum inde quod viderit faciendum: de quibus jam acquietavi me versus eundem decanum de l. marcis quas recepi ab eisdem abbate et conventu, et de v^{s}.

Legacies to a canon of Lincoln; to his poor relations; to the fabric of Lincoln church; to his successor, and to other bishops; to the expenses of his funeral, and of his executors; and to the altar near his place of sepulture. Ordination as to 112*l.*, received from the dean of Lincoln, and lent to Eynsham abbey.

[1] Pilton is a few miles south-east of Wells.

et viii^{d}., quos scilicet v^{s}. et viii^{d}. recepi a prædicto decano ultra summam antedictam: et sciendum quod dicti abbas et conventus solverunt mihi postmodum l. marcas de prædicto præstito eis facto, quas admodum debeo, et ipsi debent totum residuum de prædictis cxii. libris. Volo autem quod tam debita quam legata mea perficiantur de bonis meis: in primis videlicet de bladis et instauris meis, et postmodum de pecunia si quam in morte mea habuero. Similiter assigno ad hoc faciendum omnia bona mea mobilia, et omnes fructus tam de bladis in terra mea seminatis ante mortem meam, quam fructus virgultorum et vinearum eodem anno scilicet usque ad festum sancti Michaelis proxime post obitum meum provenientes; et omnia alia quæ me quocunque modo contingunt, tam de proventibus reddituum quam de vasis, equis, et jocalibus meis. Totum vero quod residuum fuerit de bonis meis detur pauperibus domibus religiosis episcopatus mei, et leprosis pauperibus, et magistris et scolaribus Oxon, ac conversis de Judaismo in episcopatu meo, et pauperibus hominibus maneriorum meorum; et præcipue illis hominibus quorum blada habui quæ seminaverunt in dominicis meis, per dominum regem postquam fui confirmatus, nec ea mihi postmodum remiserunt, et quæ dominus rex de jure non potuit illis warantizare; et etiam aliis hominibus meis si quos gravavi, et alibi ubi executores mei cognoverint me teneri et viderint expedire. Præterea assigno et concedo abbati et conventui de Parco Lude[1] maneria de Suthelkinton et de Kaltorp cum omnibus pertinentiis, libertatibus, et consuetudinibus suis, habenda et tenenda integre, quiete, et pacifice, usque ad terminum inter me et Roesiam de Kime et Philippum filium suum constitutum, a die videlicet beati Lucæ evangelistæ anno

Whence his debts and legacies to be paid.

To whom the residue to be given.

This especially to his tenants, whom he may have dealt hardly with.

His gift of two manors, for a term, to the convent of Louth Park;

[1] Louth Park, Cistercian abbey, Linc. South Elkington and Calsthorpe are near Louth.

Domini M°CC°XXVII. usque ad decem annos proximo sequentes completos, et in eadem forma qua ipsa maneria cum pertinentiis suis mihi concessa sunt et carta sua confirmata; salvis mihi catallis meis quæ fuerint in terris illis et pertinentiis, et bladis quæ seminata fuerint in eisdem terris et pertinentiis in ultimo anno tenuræ meæ, ad executionem testamenti mei; et salvo eo quod ego dicta maneria cum pertinentiis interim tenebo in manu mea quamdiu mihi placuerit, reddendo inde dictis abbati et conventui x. marcas annuas in duobus anni terminis, scilicet in festo sancti Michaelis v. marcas, et in festo Penthecostes v. marcas.

and of an annual pension, for a term;

Insuper assigno et concedo eisdem abbati et conventui v. marcas annuas de custodia terræ et heredis Rad. de Wyhun; quam Gilberto de Treilli senescallo meo et Rad. de Waravill concessi et tradidi, habendam et tenendam cum pertinentiis suis usque ad legitimam ipsius heredis ætatem, reddendo inde dictis abbati et conventui v. marcas annuas terminis supradictis.

which gifts to be added to, if necessary, to make the amount of 200 marcs.

Ordino etiam et concedo quod computatis prædictis v. marcis annuis quamdiu eas receperint, et computatis omnibus quæ de prædictis maneriis ad eosdem abbatem et conventum quocunque modo pervenerint, satisfiat eis per executores testamenti mei usque ad summam cc. marcarum; ita quidem quod quicquid ultra dictarum cc. marcarum summam, ad ipsos occasione dictorum maneriorum et custodiæ de Wyhun vel aliunde quocunque modo pervenerit, executoribus nostris fideliter restituant ad executionem testamenti mei faciendam.

Legacy to a servant.

Item lego Waltero servienti meo de Dorkecestre x. marcas.

Executors of this will;

Hujus igitur testamenti mei executores constituo prædictum dominum Bathoniensem fratrem meum, Robertum archidiaconum Lincolniensem, Walterum thesaurarium, J. Norhampt' et W. Leicestr' archidiaconos, Warinum et Robertum capellanos meos, Gilbertum de Treilli, Radulphum de Waravill, Thomam de Askeb', Johannem de Crakall,

et Johannem de Burgo, clericos meos, in hunc modum: assigno et constituo dictos Gilbertum, Radulphum, Thomam, Johannem, et Johannem, ad vendenda bona mea et colligendam inde pecuniam, per consilium prædicti domini fratris mei et aliorum executorum meorum, et ad deponendam eam in tutis locis, donec provisum fuerit per consilium eorum qui interesse poterunt cum episcopo, quid, cui, vel quibus, et quando sit distribuendum, juxta præsentis testamenti mei ordinationem. Si vero dominus frater meus interim decesserit, quod Deus avertat, vel alius aut alii executorum meorum, volo et ordino quod superstites eorum nihilominus testamentum meum fideliter exequantur, in fide qua Deo et mihi tenentur. Supplico igitur flexis genibus venerabili patri et domino Cantuariensi archiepiscopo, et ipsum in virtute Spiritus Sancti lacrimabiliter contestor, quatinus ad remissionem peccatorum suorum non sustineat testamentum meum, quantum in ipso est, ab aliquo infirmari; sed si qui apparuerint raptores, distractores, vel turbatores, quominus executores mei testamentum meum libere valeant adimplere, ipse, cum super hoc requisitus fuerit, universos et singulos per ecclesiasticam compescat districtionem. Rogo insuper decanum et capitulum meum Lincoln', et archidiaconos meos universos et singulos, cum omni qua possum devotione, et eos obtestor per aspersionem sanguinis Jhesu Christi, quatinus si qui in jurisdictione sua et potestate apparuerint impeditores vel perturbatores testamenti mei ut prædixi, ipsos ecclesiastica severitate desistere compellant. In prædictorum autem omnium robur et testimonium, præsenti testamento meo sigillum meum, una cum sigillis prædictorum domini fratris mei, decani et capituli, et aliorum executorum meorum feci apponi.

And their several duties.

Supplication to the archbishop of Canterbury, to enforce the due execution of this will;

and to the dean and chapter of Lincoln, and all his archdeacons.

The seals to this will.

Act' apud Parcum Stowe kalend' Junii anno Domini M°CC°XXXIII°., pontificatus scilicet mei anno vicesimo quarto.

At Stow Park, June 1, 1233.

Legacies to the king, and to his brother's knight.

Præterea lego domino meo regi pulchriorem palefridum, et cuppam pulchriorem quam habuero in decessu meo. Item lego Ricardo Cotele, militi prædicti domini fratris mei, xl. marcas; ad filias ipsius Ricardi maritandas.

[*Long before Hugh de Wells made the above will, he had the precaution to procure the king's assent and confirmation to the disposition of his property. The following charter of Henry III. is from the* Registrum Antiquissimum (*f.* 42 *b.*) *of the Dean and chapter of Lincoln.*]

Carta domini Henrici regis Angliæ, de confirmatione facta domino Hugoni Lincolniensi episcopo, de testamento suo faciendo.

Charter of Henry III., giving his consent and confirmation to any will that Hugh de Wells might make.

Henricus, Dei gratia rex Angliæ, dominus Hiberniæ, dux Normanniæ et Aquitanniæ, comes Andegaviæ, archiepiscopis, episcopis, abbatibus, prioribus, comitibus, baronibus, justiciariis, vicecomitibus, præpositis, et omnibus ballivis et fidelibus suis salutem.

Sciatis nos concessisse, et præsenti carta nostra confirmasse, venerabili patri Lincolniensi episcopo Hugoni secundo, quod testamentum suum quod legitime condiderit, de rebus mobilibus suis et rebus aliis, firmum sit et stabile; concedentes et firmiter præcipientes quod nullus vicecomes vel ballivus noster, vel alia quæcunque persona secularis, manum suam mittat ad bona sua quæ in testamento suo reliquerit, quominus executores testamenti sui libere et quiete et absque omni contradictione et impedimento illud exequi possint, secundum quod idem episcopus inde legitime ordinaverit.

Hiis testibus; dominis J. Bathoniensi et W.[1] Carleolensi episcopis, Huberto de Burgo comite de Cancia

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[1] Walter Mauclerc, bishop of Carlisle, 1224–1246.

justiciario nostro, W. Marescallo comite Penbrochiæ, Radulpho filio Nicholai senescallo nostro, Willelmo filio War', Henrico de Aldichele, et aliis.

Dat' per manum venerabilis patris R.[1] Cicestrensis episcopi cancellarii nostri, apud Westmonasterium, xxvii. die Maii anno regni nostri undecimo. Dated May 27, 1227.

[On a loose slip of vellum, in Record room of the dean and chapter of Lincoln, is a copy of another charter of Henry III., agreeing word for word, in substance, with the above, but dated at "Fuleham, quintodecimo die Maii anno regni "nostri tertiodecimo." A like charter, dated May 15, 1229.

The witnesses to this are Richard[2] bishop of Durham, Walter bishop of Carlisle the treasurer,[3] Hubert de Burgo earl of Kent the justiciar, John de Monmouth, Stephen de Segrave, Ralph de Trublevill, Hugh Dispensator, Henry Fitz-Nicholas, Richard de Gray, and Henry de Capella.]

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[1] Ralph Neville, bishop of Chichester, 1224–1244; chancellor of Henry III., 1226–1244.

[2] Richard le Poore, bishop of Durham, 1229–1237. He had lately been translated from Salisbury.

[3] According to Mr. Foss (*Judges of England*, ii. 405), the bishop of Carlisle was raised to the office of treasurer in July 1232. But the only authority he gives for this is Dugdale's *Chron. Ser.*, and Dugdale is often wrong. This charter, if genuine,—and of this there can well be no doubt,—proves that he was treasurer more than three years before that date.

APPENDIX II.

Act of the Dean and Chapter of Lincoln, recording Bishop Gravesend's benefactions, and appointing the service and alms on the day of his obit.

His many gifts to the church of Lincoln.

In Dei nomine, Amen. Inter virtutes ceteras, et caritatis opera, quibus memoria felicis recordationis domini Ricardi de Gravesend, Dei gratia quondam Lincolniensis episcopi, attolli promeruit, illa gratuita beneficia, quæ familiarius ad utilitatem et decorem hujus Lincolniensis ecclesiæ sponsæ suæ, divinique cultus augmentum, multipliciter largitus est dum vixit, pro meriti sui cumulo, et ne per transcursum temporis cum tempore relabantur, præsenti paginæ duximus annectanda.

Advowsons of churches acquired by him, for the bishoprick of Lincoln;

Adquisivit autem idem pius pater advocationes ecclesiarum de Sutton, Alesby, Gretham, de Parva Byham,[1] in archidiaconatu Lincolniensi; de Waldegrave, Wynewyck, Craneford sancti Johannis, Fardingeston, et medietatis ecclesiæ de Teneford,[2] in archidiaconatu

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[1] These Lincolnshire churches are Sutton-in-the-marsh, V., Aylesby, P.C. (?), Greetham, R., and Little Bytham, R. Aylesby, near Grimsby, is now in private patronage; the others are still in patronage of the bishop of Lincoln.

[2] These Northants churches are Walgrave, R., Winwick, R., Cranford St. John, R., Farthingstone, R., and Thenford, R. (?). Cranford St. John is now in private patronage, and Thenford in patronage of the lord chancellor; the others are in patronage of the bishop of Peterborough, to whom I suppose they would descend on the creation of this see by Henry VIII. out of the old diocese of Lincoln.

Northamptoniensi; item ecclesiarum de Twyford, Chalfount sancti Egidii, et de Stokes Hamonis,[1] in archidiaconatu Bockynghamensi, collationi episcoporum ecclesiæ Lincolniensis, qui pro tempore erunt, perpetuis temporibus duraturas. Procuravit etiam quod patroni vicariarum de Magna Glen, et de Salteby,[2] in archidiaconatu Leycestrensi, debeant ad nominationem suam, et successorum suorum episcoporum Lincolniensium, in vacationibus dictarum vicariarum, eis ad ipsas personas præsentare. Item et advocationem ecclesiæ de Gomundele,[3] in archidiaconatu Leycestrensi, nobis decano et capitulo ecclesiæ suæ perpetuo similiter concedi procuravit.

and nominations to vicarages.

And an advowson for the dean and chapter.

Dedit etiam idem pater superiori altari ecclesiæ suæ et nostræ, unum calicem aureum sumptuosum, et calicem argenteum, sub titulo sancti Egidii, pro corporis Christi veneratione; ac ad ornamentum ejusdem altaris, crucem argenteam pulcherrimam cum pede, in duplicibus festis in pectore sacerdotis processionaliter deferendam; imaginem quoque argenteam de beata Virgine, cum duobus Cherubin argenteis, ac diversis etiam sanctorum reliquiis, philateriis, et scriniis argenteis, casulis, præconsis, capis chori, tunicis, dalmaticis, aliis vestimentis, ac velo quadragesimali valde pulchro et decenti.

His gifts to the high altar; of chalices; of a cross;

of images, relics, vestments, &c.

Rursus, præter ecclesiam de Yistele,[4] quam appropriavit archidiacono Oxoniensi; et annuas decem libras per ipsum procuratas communitati vicariorum de choro;

A church to the archdeacon of Oxford; 10l. annu-

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[1] These Bucks churches are Twyford, R., Chalfont St. Giles, R., and Stoke-Hammond, R. Twyford is now in patronage of Lincoln Coll., Oxford; the other two in patronage of the bishop of Oxford.

[2] Glen-Magna, V., and Saltby, V., Leicestershire, are now in private patronage.

[3] Gumley, R., Leic., still in patronage of dean and chapter of Lincoln.

[4] *Yistele*] Ifley, near Oxford; still belonging to the archdeacon of Oxford.

ally to the vicars choral; and a large addition to the daily commons of the canons.

diurna communia canonicorum, per largitiones suas capellarum de Burton, Guerendon, Stokes, et Bokeland,[1] ecclesiarum de Paxton,[2] Hameldon,[3] Byham[4] cum Holewelle, medietatis de Glentham et Tawell,[5] de consuetis octo denariis ad duodecim denarios cotidie est[6] . . . dacta.

His ordination as to 12 boys and their master.

Et quod excellentius esse videtur, ordinavit duodecim pueros cum suo magistro ministraturos in ecclesia, et insimul commansuros; competentem sustentationem per omnia, de ecclesia de Parva Askeby,[7] quarta parte ecclesiæ de Hibaldestowe,[8] pensionibus etiam de domibus religiosorum, et quibusdam aliis, sibi statuendo.

Decree of the dean and chapter as to his obit.

Nos ergo Philippus decanus, et capitulum ecclesiæ supradictæ, hujus pia gesta memoriter recensentes, et exinde, tanquam naturaliter obligati, profectum animæ dicti patris per suffragia nostra procurare corditer cupientes, volumus et unanimiter consentimus, quod

Dec. 18.

dies obitus sui, qui quintodecimo kal. Januarii ab hac luce migravit ad Dominum, in Martilogio con-

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[1] These are Bierton, V., with Quarrendon V.; and Stoke-Mandeville, V., with Buckland, C.; all in Bucks, and still in patronage of the dean and chapter of Lincoln.

[2] Great Paxton, V., Hunts. The dean and chapter still patrons.

[3] Hambleton, V., Rutland. The dean and chapter still patrons.

[4] *Byham*] This must be Castle Bytham, V., Linc. See note (1) p. 232. It is still in the patronage of the dean and chapter; but Holywell is now united to Careby, and in private patronage.

[5] Glentham, V., and Tathwell, V., Linc. The dean and chapter are still patrons.

[6] Two or three letters are erased. Perhaps the word was "addacta;" "adaucta," as we should now spell it.

[7] *Parva Askeby*] There is a Little Ashby in Leicestershire, in patronage of the lord chancellor. But I suppose that the church here named must be Ashby Puerorum, near Spilsby, Linc., and that it was called Little Ashby before this appropriation to the chorister boys. Its vicarage is now in the patronage of the dean and chapter.

[8] Hibaldestow, V., Linc.; of which the bishop of Lincoln has now the alternate patronage.

scribatur; quodque dicto die annuatim, hæc omnia in capitulo nostro coram nobis seriolius perlegantur; et quod plenum servicium pontificum defunctorum pro ipso similiter, in ecclesia nostra prædicta, fiat singulis annis sollempniter in perpetuum, dicto die: ordinantes et statuentes per decretum, quod in præfato die anniversarii sui, de bonis communæ nostræ assumantur v. marcæ, et per manus clerici communæ, præsentibus canonicis et ceteris ministris ecclesiæ, distribuantur in hunc modum; videlicet canonicis residentibus, connumerato inter eos custode altaris beati Petri, xxxvi^s.; vicariis, tam in vigilia quam in commendatione et missa præsentibus, xviii^s.; pauperibus clericis, eodem modo præsentibus, iii^s.; clerico hospitalis, iiii^d.; pueris, ii^s.; sacristæ, si non sit vicarius, viii^d.; clerico suo, iii^d.; clerico communæ, viii^d.; clerico capituli, vi^d.; duobus capellanis celebrantibus pro anima Ricardi de Faldingworht, vi^d., pro eo quod non debent esse vicarii, et tamen frequentabunt chorum tanquam vicarii; sacristæ laico, iiii^d.; garcioni suo, ii^d.; vigill', iii^d.; scopario, ii^d.; pulsantibus classicum, vi^d.; custodibus capitis beati Hugonis et feretri, et custodi tumbæ beati Roberti, cuilibet iiii^d., si non sint de prius nominatis; alioquin portio sua, cum portione sacristæ et clerici sui, si sint de ante expressis, ac residuo[1] de summa, in usus aliorum portantium habitum in choro, secundum discretionem dicti clerici de communa, convertatur.

The service.

Alms from their common funds.

Et ut huic præsenti concessioni nostræ perpetuis temporibus plenior fides adhibeatur, hanc paginam, de nostro speciali mandato inde confectam, communi sigillo nostro fecimus communiri, inter alia

This decree, under the chapter seal, to be deposited with other muniments

[1] *residuo*] The above sums amount to 3*l*. 3*s*. 8*d*., less by three shillings than the five marcs assigned by the chapter for their payment.

of the church. munimenta ecclesiæ nostræ prædictæ fideliter reponendam.

Dated March 24, 1292. Dat' et act' in capitulo nostro Lincolniensi, nono kal' Aprilis anno Domini M°CC°. nonogesimo secundo.[1]

[1] Bishop Gravesend died Dec. 18, 1279. March 24, 1292, seems a very late date for the recording by the chapter of Lincoln of his large benefactions. Perhaps they had only just realized, from his executors, some of the benefactions here enumerated. The large bulk of them, however, must have been bestowed in his life-time. There may have been a similar ordination directly after his death, which would now be deemed insufficient.

APPENDIX I.

Various Readings of a portion of the Brownlow MS. of the Magna Vita[1] *S. Hugonis.*

Magna Vita, page 1. *In the Brownlow MS. the prologue commences as follows;* Dominis et amicis in Christo carissimis, R. priori et qui cum eo sunt sanctis Withamiensibus monachis, servorum suorum minimus, frater A., vitæ quæ nunc est et futuræ gaudia. Silentium mihi, patres dilectissimi, et domini in Christo plurimum reverendi, si nihil aliud nisi quod puer essem imperaret, non nimis[2] indebite vel ad balbutiendum impelleretis, qui loqui nesciret, servulum vestræ sanctitatis. Esset quoque mecum ignorantia mea, quam, suis viribus majora temptantem, excusaret aut etiam commendaret supplex obedientia. Nunc autem, etc.

Page 2, l. 2, instead of *mihi lugendum* is, lugendum mihi.
,, l. 3, instead of *nec,* non.
,, l. 8, *scilicet* is omitted.
,, l. 15, *me* is omitted.
,, l. 21, instead of *dicendo,* Domini.
,, l. 27, instead of *nec,* non.
,, l. 29, instead of a full stop after *uterum,* a comma, followed by miserum instead of *Miserum.*

[1] This Brownlow MS., however, is not a copy of the actual *Magna Vita*, but of the abbreviated version of it, corresponding with the Life printed by Pezius. See *Mag. Vit.*, Preface, xi, &c.

[2] *non nimis*] *i.e.*, I suppose, Somewhat, To some extent; in same way as "non nunquam" is Sometimes.

Page 2, l. 30, after *immo* is inserted et. After *peccatorem* a full stop, followed by Expedit enim, instead of *expedit ei.*
„ l. 36, instead of *indistincte verbis vel,* discutite verbisque ac.
Page 3, l. 1, instead of *sententientes,* sentientes.
„ l. 4, instead of *quoque,* quippe; and instead of *debet,* decet.
„ l. 6, instead of *communisque,* communis.
„ l. 7, instead of *suscepi nostri,* nostri suscepi.
„ l. 8, instead of *ambigueret,* ignoret.
„ l. 9, instead of *aliquo uno,* uno aliquo.
„ l. 13, after *enim* is inserted vere.
„ l. 15, instead of *etiam ut,* ut etiam.
„ l. 19, instead of *fuerint,* fuerunt.
„ l. 22, instead of *spiritualibus,* spiritualis.
„ l. 23, instead of *quam talibus,* quantalibet.
„ l. 26, instead of *nec,* sed nec.
„ l. 28, instead of *quæ,* quod.
„ l. 29, instead of *vobis prætendebam,* prætendebam vobis.
„ l. 32, instead of *morem,* mortem.
„ l. 33, instead of *fluctivagos,* fluctuagos.
Page 4, l. 3, instead of *ut in eo,* ne tunc.
„ l. 4, instead of *ac si,* ac.
„ n. 1, poma.
„ l. 9, instead of *quanta jam,* jam quanta.
„ l. 14, instead of *sanctitate et pietate,* pietate et sanctitate.
Page 7. The first section of Cap. I., *Illustris . . . opportunis,* is omitted, as in Pez.
Page 8. The section *Et genitricis . . . martyrium,* is much shortened. As is also the case with the next section, *Nam et . . . ascivit,* of page 9.
„ n. 1, subiit, with Pez.
„ l. 23, instead of *sui ortu,* suo ortu.

Page 9, n. 1, scivi, with Pez.
„ n. 2, me, with Pez.
„ n. 3, gesserat, with Pez.
„ n. 4, fuisse, with Pez.
„ n. 5, ascivit, with Pez.
„ n. 7, ecclesiam, with Pez.
Page 10, n. 1, reverentia, with Pez.
„ l. 13, after *animos* is inserted meos. So also in Pez.
„ n. 2, exercitiis, with Pez.
„ n. 3, dulcedinis, with the Paris MS.
„ n. 4, dulcissime, with the Paris MS.
„ l. 24, *est* is omitted. It is in Pez.
„ The first section of Cap. II., *Hujus itaque . . . delinquenti*, is omitted.
Page 11, last line but one. This section, *Jam vero . . . sustinere*, is much shortened.
„ last line, after *discretionis*, is added et scientiæ. This is also so in Pez.
Page 12, n. 2, reconderet, with Pez.
„ l. 23, instead of *tamen*, cum.
„ l. 26, instead of *suggessisset*, sugsisset vel suggessisset.
„ n. 3, propagando, with Pez.
Page 13, n. 1, adesse, with Pez.
„ n. 2, nil; Pez. having *nihil*.
„ l. 5, instead of *ejus*, ipsius. So also in Pez.
„ n. 3, tantum; and sibi after *deputata*; with Pez.
„ n. 4, munus, with Pez.
„ l. 20, after *non* is added quidem. So also in Pez.
„ n. 5, hoc, with the Paris MS.
„ n. 6, intimabat, with Pez.
„ n. 7, agnoscentibus, with the Paris MS.
Page 14, l. 1, instead of *disceptationis*, discertationis.
„ n. 1, qualiscunque, with the Paris MS.
„ l. 2, before *potuit* is ei. So also in Pez.

Page 14, l. 5, instead of *officio*, officiis.
„ n. 2, tantam, with Pez.
„ n. 3, enim, with Pez.
„ l. 20. The interesting account of the discovery of a murder by a dog, *De quo, etc. . . . superfluum* (p. 16, l. 20), is omitted.

Page 16, l. 24, after *Nihil* is added enim. So also in Pez.
„ n. 2, nihil, with Pez.
„ l. 29, instead of *demandetur*, remandetur.
„ n. 3, jussa, with no *curam* after *parentis* in the next line, with Pez.
„ n. 4, carnalis . . . spiritualis, with Pez. "Patris jussa spiritualis, erga necessi-" "tates, carnalem immo et spiritualem" "quoque parentis curam," may perhaps be the right reading.

Page 17, n. 1, paternis, with Pez.
„ l. 10, instead of *supervixit*, vixit.
„ n. 2, ei sternebat, with Pez.
„ n. 3, accipiebat, with Pez.
„ l. 18, instead of *quod*, quia.
„ n. 4, coactus et invitus, with Pez. The greater part of Cap. IV. is omitted. The small part retained, with the greater part of Cap. V. of the Mag. Vit., form the fourth chapter of the Brownlow MS. and Pezius.

Page 19, n. 1, eum, with Pez.
„ l. 6, *etiam* is omitted. It is not in Pez., but he has "et" before *qui*.
„ l. 8, instead of *videns*, cernens. So also in Pez.
„ l. 9, instead of *gratiæ*, gloriæ. So also in Pez.
„ l. 12, after *ejus*, is added loci. Pez. has "loci ejus."

Page 19, n. 2, *proxima* is omitted, and so with Pez. Is this word a blunder of the scribe of the Paris MS., for some title of St. Maximus or St. Maximinus, which title, equally a puzzle to the abbreviator, was by him skipped?
„ n. 3, Maximo.
„ l. 17, instead of *illius,* ipsius. So also Pez.
Page 20, l. 4, instead of *senis,* senioris esse. So also Pez.
„ l. 5, instead of *concanonicum,* canonicum.
„ l. 7, *vero* is omitted. Pez has "et" instead.
„ n. 2, famam is added, as also in Pez.
„ l. 21, instead of *ecclesiolæ,* ecclesiæ.
„ n. 3, edocebat, with Pez.
„ n. 4, autem, with Pez.
„ last line, *et* is omitted. So also in Pez.
Page 21, n. 1, siquidem, with Pez.
„ l. 2, instead of *parochianis,* parochialibus. So also Pez.
„ n. 2, ipso et cum eisdem, with no *præsente.*
„ n. 3, canonicis, with the Paris MS.
„ l. 11, instead of *his,* illis.
„ n. 4, quondam mihi creditæ.
„ l. 21, instead of *seu,* sive. So also Pez.
„ l. 23, after *immo* is added et. *Etiam* after *deterius* is omitted, as also in Pez.
„ n. 5, incurrisse, with Pez.
„ n. 6, *temporis* is omitted, as also in Pez.
„ n. 7, mentis, with Pez.
Page 22, n. 1, mihi et, with the Paris MS.
„ n. 2, post, with the Paris MS.
„ n. 3, correctionem, with Pez.
„ l. 7, instead of *correcto, mediante satisfactione,* correctione mediante.
„ l. 8, instead of *ipse,* ille. So also Pez.
„ n. 5, *nec,* with the Paris MS.

Page 22, n. 6, *tum,* with the Paris MS.
„ l. 10, *jam,* omitted. It is in Pez.
„ l. 11, instead of *argui,* coargui. So also Pez.
„ l. 13, the *et* after *Satanæ* is omitted. Pez. has it before *tradendum* of l. 12.
„ „ instead of *resipiscatur,* resipiscat. So also Pez.
„ n. 7, correctus, with Pez.
„ n. 8, Deo plenus, with Pez.
„ n. 9, non, with Pez.
Page 23, l. 9, instead of *sancta,* scientia.
„ l. 10, *cum* is omitted, as also in Pez.
„ l. 11, *cordis* is omitted. It is in Pez.
„ l. 15, instead of *affatu,* affectu, with Pez.
„ l. 17, after *intra* is se, as also in Pez.
„ n. 1, experiebatur, with Pez.
„ n. 2, dicentis, with Pez.
„ n. 3, the quotation is as in Pez, except that it begins with Quoque instead of *Ubi.*
„ n. 4, intuendo, with Pez.
„ l. 22, instead of *et cœlo,* cœlisque, with Pez.
„ n. 5, hic, and no scilicet after *prœdives,* with the Paris MS., but præcipue added, with Pez.
Page 24, l. 1, instead of *serenitatem,* severitatem.
„ l. 6, instead of *aut,* nec.
„ n. 1, aliquid, with Pez.
„ n. 2, aliquo, with the Paris MS.
„ n. 3, hujus, with the Paris MS.
„ n. 4, ac etiam obedientiæ secura, with Pez.

[At the end of the Life in the Brownlow MS. are added the following papal bulls, &c. in the same hand as the Life itself.]

Bulla specialis domini papæ Honorii tertii, de canonizatione beatissimi et gloriosissimi Hugonis Lincolniensis episcopi.

Honorius episcopus, [servus][1] servorum Dei, venerabili fratri episcopo, et dilectis filiis, capitulo, clero, et populo Lincolniensi, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. "Non repulit Dominus plebem suam;" nec eam expertem gratiæ suæ reliquit aut gloriæ, Qui terminos gentium secundum numerum Angelorum suorum legitur statuisse. Quinimmo, licet electi dicantur pauci respectu multitudinis vocatorum, certum est tamen quod ex tanto fidelium numero eligitur maxima multitudo. Unde prophetæ, conquerenti se solum esse relictum, aliis interemptis, responsum est a Domino, "Reliqui mihi septem milia virorum, qui ante Baal "genua non curvaverunt." Et beatus evangelista Johannes, cum revelatum sibi numerum signatorum ex duodecim tribubus conspexisset, vidit turbam magnam, quæ dinumerari non poterat, amictam stolis candidis, et tenentem palmas in manibus coram Deo. Porro justus et misericors Dominus fideles suos, quos prædestinavit ad vitam, omnes quidem coronans in patria, quosdam eorum, secundum multitudinem divitiarum sapientiæ ac misericordiæ suæ, glorificavit in via, ut frigescentem jam in pluribus caritatis igniculum accendat mirabilium novitate suorum, et pravitatem confundat hereticam, dum, ad catholicorum tumulos faciens miracula radiare, ostendit per gloriam post exitum vitæ hujus illis exhibitam, eos tenuisse dum viverent fidem rectam. Ipso igitur piæ recordationis Hugonem Lincolniensem episcopum, quem in vita sua

Special bull to the bishop, &c. of Lincoln.

Rom. xi. 2.

Deut. xxxii. 8.

Rom. xi. 4.

Apoc. vii. 3–9.

[1] *servus*] This is omitted, by mistake, in the MS.

non solum virtutibus sed etiam signorum ostensionibus illustraverat, faciente post obitum crebrioribus miraculis coruscare, vos, frater episcope, et filii capitulum ejusdem, per apostolicam sedem ascribi sanctorum catalogo instanti devotione ac devota instantia postulastis. Cum autem vestra petitio diu fuisset necessaria maturitate suspensa, eo quod, cum hujusmodi judicium divinum sit potius quam humanum, reformidat mortalis infirmitas judicare de illis, qui, veste mortalitatis exuta, cum Christo creduntur vivere ac regnare, demum vobis propter miraculorum frequentiam petitionem prædictam humiliter replicantibus, nos, ne ministerium nostrum divinæ dignationi mirificanti sanctum suum subtrahere videremur, venerabili fratri nostro Stephano Cantuariensi archiepiscopo, sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ cardinali, et dilecto filio abbati de Fontibus, dederimus in mandatis, ut, cum opera pietatis in vita et miraculorum signa post mortem ad hoc quod quis reputetur sanctus in militanti ecclesia requirantur, licet ad sanctitatem fidelis animæ opera sola sufficiant in ecclesia triumphanti, quærerent super utriusque solicite veritatem, et quod invenirent curarent nobis fideliter intimare, quatinus per eorum relationem instructi procederemus in negotio prout nobis Dominus inspiraret. Qui, juxta mandati nostri tenorem, primo de illius conversatione ac vita, et deinde de miraculis, inquisitionem facientes per testes omni exceptione majores et astrictos juramenti vinculo diligentem, invenerunt ipsum sanctæ conversationis odore aliis præfuisse dum viveret, et insignium miraculorum multitudine in vita et post obitum claruisse. Quæ, quia pro sua multitudine non possent sub brevitate narrari, præsenti paginæ non duximus inserenda; melius æstimantes scripturæ gloriosam ejus historiam universam relinquere, quam paucis auctoritatem bullæ nostræ appositione præstando, eam reliquis quodammodo derogare. Ipsis autem miraculis, quæ

inquisitores prædicti nobis sub sigillis suis prout in mandatis acceperant transmiserunt, examinatis per venerabilem fratrem nostrum P. Sabieñ episcopum diligenter, ea demum in auditorio nostro fecimus solempniter recitari. Et cum sanctitatem morum, et signorum virtutem, ad favorem petitionis jam dictæ concurrere videremus, divinum et humanum secuti judicium, de divina misericordia et ejusdem sancti meritis confidentes, ipsum, de fratrum nostrorum et episcoporum qui apud apostolicam sedem erant consilio, sanctorum catalogo duximus ascribendum; statuentes ut in die depositionis ejusdem festivitas annis singulis devote celebretur. Quocirca universitati vestræ per apostolica scripta mandamus, quatinus ejusdem sancti memoriam cum celebritate debita venerantes, ejus apud Deum suffragia humiliter imploretis. Dat' Viterbii xiii. kal. Marcii pontificatus nostri anno quarto. Feb. 17, 1220.

Bulla[1] *generalis domini papæ Honorii de canonizatione et translatione beati Hugonis Lincolniensis episcopi.*

General Bull to all the faithful.

Honorius episcopus, etc. universis Christi fidelibus, præsentem paginam inspecturis, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Divinæ dignatio pietatis sanctos et electos suos, in cœlestis regni felicitate locatos, ad hoc[2] in terra miraculorum coruscatione clarificat, ut fidelium per hæc excitata devotio eorum suffragia digna veneratione deposcat. Cum igitur sanctæ recordationis Hugonem Lincolniensem episcopum, quem, sicut nobis

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[1] A similar bull, but with no mention of the translation, is given in Rymer, i. 165, from the original in the Tower; and in Wendover, iv. 64.

[2] *ad hoc*] In the similar bull in Rymer and Wendover, it is "ad- "huc."

plenarie constitit,[1] divini muneris largitas tam in vita quam etiam post vestem mortalitatis exutam, insignium miraculorum multitudine illustravit, sanctorum catalogo conscripserimus,[2] universitatem vestram monemus et exhortamur in Domino, quatinus ejus apud Deum patrocinia devotis mentibus [3] imploretis. Cum autem venerabile corpus ejus a loco in quo est transferri oporteat et honorificentius collocari, nos omnibus qui ad solempnitatem translationis ejusdem, die quo transfertur, aut etiam infra ejus octavas, et his quoque qui revolutis annis ipso translationis die ad ejus tumbam cum devotione accesserint, de Dei misericordia ac beatorum Petri et Pauli apostolorum ejus auctoritate confisi, quadraginta dies de injunctis sibi pœnitentiis relaxamus. Dat' Viterbii xiii. kal. Marcii, pontificatus nostri anno quarto.

Feb. 17, 1220.

Item alia bulla de translatione ejusdem.

Special Bull to the bishop of Lincoln, as to the translation.

Honorius, &c. venerabili fratri episcopo Lincolniensi salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Cum venerabile corpus beati Hugonis a loco in quo est transferendum sit et dignius collocandum, fraternitati tuæ per apostolica scripta [mandamus],[4] quatinus, convocatis prælatis et aliis quos videris convocandos, corpus ipsum in locum opportunum cures cum debita [5] solempnitate transferre, faciens illud cum digna honorificentia collocari. Dat' Viterbii, pontificatus nostri anno quarto.

O quam grata Dei pietas, pia gratia! Quanto
Fenore retribuit meritorum præmia sanctis,

[1] *constitit*] The MS. has "con- "stituit;" Rymer and Wendover, "constat."

[2] *conscripserimus*] Rymer and Wendover have "adscripsimus."

[3] *devotis mentibus*] Rymer and Wendover have "devote."

[4] *mandamus*] Omitted, by mistake, in MS.

[5] After *debita* is "et" in the MS. Perhaps the bull had "debita reve- "rentia (or some such word) et "solempnitate."

Æternaque breves mercede remunerat actus!
Hæc indeficiens[1] Hugonis gloria pandit.

Elegit sibi Dominus virum de plebe: et claritatem visionis æternæ dedit illi.

Deus,[2] qui beatum Hugonem, confessorem tuum atque pontificem, eminentia meritorum et claritate signorum excellenter ornasti, concede propitius ut ejus exempla nos provocent et virtutes illustrent. Per Dominum nostrum Jhesum Christum.

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[1] *indeficiens*] I venture to substitute this for "inde faciens" of the MS.

[2] This is the *Oratio* with which the service on St. Hugh's day commenced, as in MS. Bodl. 57 (f. 16) of the Bodleian library.

GLOSSARY.

GLOSSARY.

A.

Antidora, 42, l. 3 ; reciprocal gifts ; *Gr.* ἀντίδωρον.

Apporiatus, 125, l. 3 ; impoverished. From the French verb *appauvrir*. *See* Du Cange.

Archisigillarius, 38, l. 9. So Giraldus calls Walter de Coutances, on his appointment to Lincoln in 1183. The word seems to mean chief officer, and deputy, of the chancellor ; a vice-chancellor in fact, though there was then no such recognized officer of the Curia Regis.

Diceto tells us (514, 32, Twysden), that in 1173 Ralph de Warnaville was made chancellor, and Walter de Coutances "sigillifer." Elsewhere (568, 3), recording the same facts, he says that Warnaville, on his appointment, "Waltero de "Constantiis vices in curia regis commisit." Under 1180 (609, 66) he calls him "Sigillarius regis." Ben. Abb. calls him, in 1177 (i. 136, Stubbs), the king's "Sigillifer;" in same year (168), "Vicecancellarius;" and in 1183 (299), "clericus et familiaris regis." Hoveden (320 b, 10, Savile) calls him "Vicecancellarius" in 1177, in the passage corresponding to that of Ben. Abb. where he is called "Sigillifer."

Aurea sive Aureola finalis, 135, l. 8 ; the golden crown awarded to the saved, in heaven. *See* Du Cange, *Aureola*.

B.

Bladum ; 227, ll. 8, 11, 22 ; 228. l. 5 ; growing corn.

Burneta, 93, l. 1 ; a bird. I am unable to identify it.

C.

Capella, 226, l. 25 ; in sense of the sacred vessels, books, &c. of the altar of a chapel; a common meaning of the word. *See* Du Cange, under *Capella* (3).

Capicium, 40, l. 19 ; Fr. Chevet; the head or eastern limb of a church, the choir, as we now call it. *See* Du Cange, under *Capitium* (2). It seems a foreign word in this sense. I have never met with any other instance of such use of the word in any English writer. And hence perhaps, from its strangeness, the blunder of "capitulum" instead, of Wharton's scribe.

Carucata boum, 226, l. 17. Du Cange explains this as the "boves jugatorii unam trahentes carrucam;" quoting only a passage in Kennett's *Antiq. Ambrosden.* 135, which merely has the term, without a hint as to its meaning, except that it means some number of oxen. Perhaps a more exact definition would be,—the number of oxen required for working a carucate of land throughout the year; supposing that these would not all be used in the plough at the same time. Now, as one ox was the reckoning for a bovate or oxgang of land, therefore eight oxen would be the number required for a carucate, which contains eight bovates. This is confirmed by a passage in John of Glastonbury's History of his abbey (Hearne, 223), which enumerates the stock left on his lands by abbot Michael, who resigned in 1252. Foremost of this stock he puts, "Boves octingentos "quater viginti duodecim, qui faciunt centum undecim "carrucas et dimidiam." 892 is eight times $111\frac{1}{2}$; therefore, in this case, a "carruca" or "carucata boum,"—they must mean just the same,—is a team of eight oxen. For this valuable reference to John of Glastonbury,—I have never seen the book myself,—I am indebted, amongst other kind communications, to F. H. Dickinson, Esq., Kingweston House, Somerset.

Cortina, 47, l. 14 ; a curtain, or hanging.

Cumulus, 30 (last line) ; the roof, or perhaps rather the vaulting or ceiling of a church, or other building; *Fr.* Comble.

"Cumulus ecclesiæ" occurs in the Dunstable Annals (257, Luard), where, in the marginal note, it is interpreted as "the body of the church." If by "body" Mr. Luard means the nave of the church, I wish I could believe this interpretation to be right; as Giraldus's "usque ad consummabilem "ecclesiæ cumulum . . . . plene perfectum" would then be a new and valuable addition to the architectural history of Lincoln cathedral, proving that the nave was completed, at the latest, when in 1213 or 1214 Giraldus addressed his Life of Remigius to archbishop Langton. In the same Annals (294, l. 25) is, "Novus cumulus de pistrino cum "appendiciis;" and directly afterwards, "Novus cumulus "de cancello de Husseburne, de meremio." In the Royal Letters of Henry III. (ii. 66, Shirley) there is this order; "Præcipimus quod apud Guldeford . . . . totum cumulum "cameræ nostræ de novo quinque pedibus altiorem fieri, et "muros ejusdem exaltari, . . . faciatis." It is clear, I fear, that *cumulus* cannot be what Mr. Luard supposes, and must be what I have stated above.

In the very curious and valuable contemporary tract, on the siege and capture of Lisbon by the crusaders in 1147, printed by Professor Stubbs in the Appendix to his Introduction to the *Itin. Reg. Ricardi*, the Moorish temple at Lisbon is thus described (p. clxxx.): "Septem columnarum "ordinibus, cum tot cumalis, in altum consurgit." In his Glossary, Professor Stubbs explains *cumulus* (*cumalus* of MS.) as a cupola. But surely it must rather mean the several ranges of roofing, whether consisting of cupolas or not, over the several ranges of aisles formed by these rows of columns.

D.

Dalida, 12, l. 24; where it is said of such as entirely subdue all fleshy lusts, that "Dalidam suam domant." Dalila is the proper word, as at 89, l. 22, where St. Hugh is described as "Dalilam suam domans." Dalila, Samson's mistress and betrayer, was considered, by early and medieval expositors of Scripture, as the typical personification of temptations of fleshly lusts.

Dieta, 98, l. 20; 146, l. 18; a day's journey.

Disparagare, 223, l. 18; to give wards, in marriage, to spouses of lower and unfit rank. *See* Du Cange.

Dormiens mensa, 55, l. 24 ; a dormant or fixed table, as generally in use as the high table in the halls of medieval mansions. Giraldus describes it as a " tabula grandis et spissa, " et firmiter etiam, sicut solent mensæ dormientes, et im- " mobiliter defixa." *See* Parker's *Domestic Architecture,* " iii. 71.

E.

Episcopare, 67 (last line) ; to make a bishop. More generally the word means, to act as a bishop.

Episcopium, 36, l. 4, and 77 (last line) ; bishoprick. In 25, 2nd column of notes, l. 7, it means the episcopal palace. *See* Du Cange.

F.

Fabrica, 158, June 29; 159, August 5 ; where benefactors are recorded as giving " fabricas " to St. Mary of Lincoln. The word seems to mean an oblation of money, or materials, or other aid, to the building of the church, or to repairs or alteration of the fabric. *See* Du Cange.

G.

Glomellus, 121, l. 22 ; a clew of thread. A woman is there described as "filum in glomellum convertens." I do not find any mention of the word ; but " glomus " is a classical word, with that meaning.

Grantum, 226, l. 8 ; a promise, or pledge, of something to be granted. *See* Du Cange.

Guerra. *See* Werra, *infra.*

Gutta festra ; a disease, from which, in his arm, a knight of Lindsey was cured at Hugh's funeral ; 117, l. 20. By the other authorities who report the miracle it is called "Cancer ;" *Ibid.*, n. 2. The term occurs again, 141, l. 5 ; where, probably, it is identical with the " Fistula gutta " of the Metrical Life, l. 1247. Du Cange quotes (under *Fistulitus*), from a Life of St. Columba, " Femina fistulita cancri " morbo."

H.

HERNESIUM, 55, l. 18. Properly it seems to mean the armour of man or horse; Du Cange under *Harnascha*, *Arnesium*, *&c.* But it was often used in a wider sense. Giraldus uses it as including also saddles, baggage, &c.,—"hernesium eorum "totum, sellas scilicet et clitellas et cetera." According to the *Promptorium Parvulorum* (Camden Soc.), the English word Harneys was applied also to apparel generally, and to household utensils as well.

HORÆ REALES, 98, l. 15. Where Giraldus describes Hugh as earnest, "reales horas omnes et singulas . . . . explere;" and as indefatigable especially "in septima, mortuorum "scilicet corporibus sepeliendis." This is sufficiently explained by the following passage of Durandus (*Rationale*, Prologue to Lib. v.): "Dies naturalis septem habet varie-"tates. Prima est infantia, quæ per matutinas laudes "representatur. Secunda pueritia, quæ per Primam. Tertia "adolescentia, quæ per Tertiam. Quarta juventus, quæ "per Sextam. Quinta senectus, quæ per Nonam. Sexta "senium, quæ per Vesperas. Septima decrepita ætas, seu "finis vitæ nostræ, quæ per Completorium designatur." "Reales horas explere" is to realize and fulfil the duties appertaining to these several natural hours.

I.

INSPECTIS SACROSANCTIS EVANGELIIS JURARE, 133, l. 23; to make oath before the Gospels, without touching them. This was how bishops and priests were sworn. *See* Du Cange, under *Jurare inspectis sacrosanctis.*

INSPIRATIO. A person was said to be elected "per viam in-"spirationis," or "per viam (or inspirationem) Spiritus "Sancti," when he was at once unanimously fixed upon by the electors, without doubt or debate. *See* Du Cange. Oliver de Sutton was so elected bishop of Lincoln, 208, l. 7.

When there was not this immediate unanimity, then the election would proceed, either "per viam Scrutinii," *i.e.* by the electors appointing from amongst themselves certain

"Scrutatores," generally three in number, to obtain secretly their votes, and declare the result. Bishop Dalderby was so elected to Lincoln, 212, l. 16; and Anthony Beek, 215, l. 1.

Or, the election might be made "per viam compromissi," or "compromissionis;" *i.e.* where the electors appointed, from amongst themselves, certain "compromissores" or "compromissarii," uncertain in number, who were solemnly bound to choose a worthy person, and whose choice the electors bound themselves to accept. This was the regular Benedictine mode of election. The process of it is described in Thorn's chronicle (Twysden, 1920, l. 43, &c.); in the Ely History (Anglia Sacra, i. 641, &c., 653, 662, &c.); and in Hart's Gloucester History (iii. 22, &c.) of the present series.

But, in case of any canonical objection to the person fixed upon, then he was to be "postulatus" by the electors, and to be advanced to his new dignity "per viam postulationis." The electors could not actually elect; they could only beg that the objection might be dispensed with, and the person of their choice granted to them. *See* Du Cange, under *Postulatio.* For instance, as very frequently, when the person fixed upon as a new bishop was already a bishop of another see. This was the case with Walter de Coutances, when translated from Lincoln to Rouen, 199, l. 5. Or, to give another instance, when the person chosen was of defective birth, as in the case of archbishop Sewall of York (Twysden, 1725, 41, &c.)

Instaurum, 227, l. 8; the stock of cattle upon an estate.

Intersignum, 146, l. 12; some private token, to attest the authenticity of a message.

J.

Jocalia, 227, l. 16; jewels.

M.

Mairemium, 226, l. 12; timber for building purposes. It is generally spelt "meremium."

Mandatum, 18, l. 2; Maundy; *i.e.*, washing the feet of the poor, and giving them alms, according to the example and mandate of our Lord. This was done especially by kings, prelates, nobles, &c. on Maundy Thursday, the day when our Lord washed his disciples' feet and gave his mandate. The custom is still, in the way of alms, in a way retained at our court. James II. is said to have been the last sovereign who actually washed the feet of poor persons on this day with his own hands; but it was done by deputy for long afterwards.

Giraldus describes Remigius as holding a weekly Maundy, on Saturday. This seems to have been the rule in Benedictine and other convents; the washing being perhaps, in later times at any rate, generally confined to the brethren's washing one another's feet. *See* Du Cange, under *Mandatum* (9).

Massatus, 47, l. 15. Where the "cruces aureæ massatæ et "argenteæ" must, I suppose, mean crosses of massive gold and silver. But I find no notice of *massatus* exactly in this sense.

Mensurare, 183, l. 10. Where it is said that the mother of a child apparently dead, "accepto filo faciendis candelis "idoneo, cœpit puerum mensurare." It seems to have been usual to make a candle of the length of a sick person, or of a diseased limb, to be offered and burnt at the shrine or tomb of the saint in whose merits they trusted for recovery. In the miracles attributed to Simon de Montfort, which some Evesham monk has transmitted to us (*Chron. Will. Rishanger*, &c., Camden Soc. 67–110), this word "men-"surare" is almost continuous. In some cases the meaning of it is more or less explained. For instance (p. 86), Willm. de Maule of Essex, "privatus sensu hominis, men-"suratus ad comitem Symonem, convaluit. Unde detulit "caput ceræ apud Evesham, et candelam suæ longitudinis "et latitudinis." Again (p. 85), the lady Margaret de Heydon, "mensurata ad comitem, statim convaluit. Testes "hujus rei tota villata de Heydon, et Hawysa, quæ detulit "candelam suam usque Evesham."

The above passage of the Legend of St. Hugh is thus paraphrased by Dorlandus (c. 1500), who, we may well suppose, would well understand its meaning: "Mater, ... "accipiens lychnum, ut ad mensuram pueri candelam ceream "sancto accenderet, cœpit corpusculo commensurare."

MESENGES, 110, last line but three. Small birds so called; titmice. 'Mesange' is still *Fr.* for a titmouse.

MOROSITAS, 99, l. 19; 102, l. 12; slowness, deliberateness. The adjective "morosus" was also used. *See* Glossary, vol. V.

O.

OBRIZUM; fine gold. *See* Du Cange. It seems to be used as an adjective at 87, l. 11. It is a Vulgate word, Is. xiii. 12.

P.

PARII LAPIDES, 40, l. 20. *See* Glossary I., vol. VI., p. 235.

PAROCHIA, 176, l. 25; the diocese of a bishop. According to Du Cange this was originally the regular use of the word; "diocesis" being at first applied only to the province of an archbishop.

PERSONATUS, 35, l. 10; ecclesiastical dignities. The "persona," parson or rector, was the ecclesiastical dignitary of a parish church; and the "personæ" of the cathedral church were the dean, precentor, chancellor, &c., and the archdeacons of the diocese, but not the canons. Thus at 118, l. 24, we have, "coram venerabilibus viris, R. decano, ceterisque "personis cathedralis ecclesiæ, cum canonicis in capitulo "convocatis;" and at 147, l. 1–4, "tres personæ" of Lincoln cathedral, viz., the precentor and two archdeacons, "et canonici ac clerici ecclesiæ plurimi."

PHILATERIA, 32, l. 1; 195, l. 22; 233, l. 22; a casket of gold or silver, or other precious material, to contain the relics of saints. *See* Du Cange.

PLACABILIS, 101, l. 16; pleasing, agreeable. *See* Du Cange, under *Placabilis* and *Placibilis*.

PLEBANUS DECANUS, 122, l. 18; a rural dean, no doubt; but I find no mention of such use.

PODIUM, 23, l. 10; a crutch, or other support. *See* Du Cange.

PŒNITENTIALIS, 122, last line, and 123, l. 4; the person appointed by the bishop to receive confessions, and impose penances. More properly called "Pœnitentiarius." *See* the Glossary to *Mag. Vit. S. Hugonis*.

POSTULATIO, 199, l. 5. *See* under INSPIRATIO, *supra*.

PRÆCONSÆ, 233, l. 23. I do not find this word in Du Cange, or elsewhere. It sounds as if it would mean sconces, or candlesticks, or lanthorns, or something connected with lights. But in the list of bishop Gravesend's benefactions, where it occurs, it is classed with vestments;—"casulis, "præconsis, capis chori, ... aliis vestimentis."

PROTERMINARE, 101, l. 5, and 121, l. 5; to put off a matter for a time. Du Cange does not notice it. Ainsworth gives it as an obsolete word.

R.

REGALIA, of a bishop, or "baronia tota;" 104, l. 8; the temporalities, as generally called. *See* Du Cange, under *Regalia* (2).

RELEVATIO, 97, l. 12; a relief; the fine due to the lord on an heir succeeding to his estate.

RIBALDI, 69, l. 27; the lowest hangers-on of a court, or followers of an army; men ready to be employed on any atrocity. *See* Du Cange.

S.

SCRUTINIUM, 212, l. 16, and 215, l. 1. *See* under INSPIRATIO, *supra*.

SCURELLI, 92, l. 1; where we have "mures silvestres, qui "vulgari vocabulo scurelli dicuntur;" squirrels; *Fr.* écureuil.

SERIŎLIUS, 235, l. 2; in regular order or series. The word is not in Du Cange. "Seriatim" is the usual form.

T.

TALARIS TUNICA, 42, l. 13. Where Giraldus speaks of Hugh having put this vestment on, when made a bishop. Durandus (Lib. iii., 10) says, "Post appositam stolam, "pontifex induit tunicam, quæ alibi . . . talaris dicebatur."

TEXTI -ORUM; treasured copies of the Gospels, ornamented with gold and silver and precious stones. *Textus -uum* is the usual form. *See* Glossary I., vol. VI. In this sense the word seems certainly used in 32, l. 2, and 195, l. 23. So again, almost certainly, in 47, l. 14; where, however,

I have so stopped the passage, as to make *textis* seem the participle of "texo," agreeing with *aulæis;* but where, it now seems clear to me, I ought to have put a comma after *pretiosissimis,* as I have directed in the table of Corrigenda.

THESAURUM, 115, l. 15; a neuter noun. Not an uncommon medieval form. *See* Du Cange.

THETA, the *Gr.* letter Θ; Obituary, 153, &c., *passim.* This letter, standing for Θάνατος, in old days affixed by Greek and Roman judges to the name of a criminal sentenced to death, came to be used in early Christian and medieval times to represent "obiit" or "mortuus est." *See* Du Cange, under TH. It is especially so used in such records as the above Obituary, and even sometimes in regular chronicles. For instance, the Dunstable Annalist uses it continually. Wanley, of course, retained it, in his accurate transcript of the Dunstable manuscript; Hearne also, in his edition printed from this transcript of Wanley. In the edition printed in the present series, Mr. Luard, very wrongly I think, considering it a mere abbreviation of "obiit," has preferred always to place this in his text instead (Dunstable Annals, Luard, Preface, x, note). Another instance of the continual use of Θ will be found in the brief but valuable Thorney Annals, in Nero, C. vii. (f. 79, &c.) of the British Museum.

TRUTANNICUS, 123, l. 5; false, lying; of or belonging to a trutanus, *Fr.* truant, a vagrant impostor. *See* Du Cange, under *Trutanus.* Giraldus has, "trutanica potius quam "historica enarratio," in vol. VI., 168, l. 7.

W.

WERRA, 37, l. 6; war. The more usual form is *Guerra,* as at 103, l. 20.

INDEX.

INDEX.

A.

B.

C.

D.

H.

I.

J.

K.

L.

M.

N.

O.

P.

Q.

R.

S.

U.

V.

W.

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